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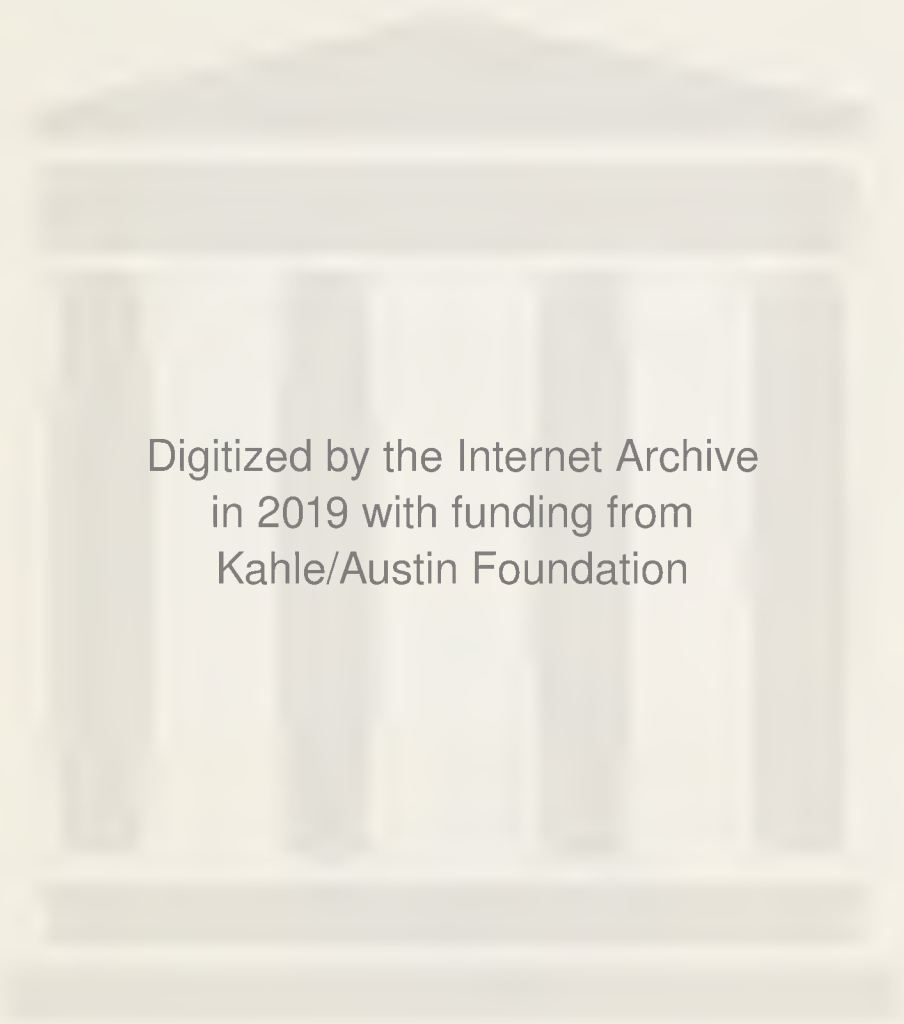
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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

VOLUME THE FIFTH:

CONTAINING

FIVE LETTERS OF KING CHARLES II. COMMUNICATED BY THE MARQUIS OF BRISTOL, *President.*

LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS LAKE, RELATING TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF SIR EDWARD COKE AT OATLANDS; AND, DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LAST VOYAGE.

A CATALOGUE OF EARLY ENGLISH MISCELLANIES FORMERLY IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

LETTERS SELECTED FROM THE COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPHS IN THE POSSESSION OF WILLIAM TITE, ESQ. M.P. V.P.S.A.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S MEMORABLE SERVICE DONE AGAINST THE SPANIARDS IN 1587. WRITTEN BY ROBERT LENG, GENTLEMAN, ONE OF HIS CO-ADVENTURERS AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS.

INQUIRY INTO THE GENUINENESS OF A LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 3RD, 1613, AND SIGNED "MARY MAGDALINE DAVERS."

PETERBOROUGH, ONTA

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXIV.

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FOR THE YEAR 1863-64.

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116366

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1

most humble and
most obedient sone
and servant

Charles R

2

For my Lord Jermin

he may enioy all his rights

3

For the Earle of
St Albans.

God keepe you

FIVE LETTERS OF KING CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED TO

THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

BY

THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF BRISTOL,
PRESIDENT OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXIV.

FIVE LETTERS OF KING CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE MARQUIS OF BRISTOL.

THE following valuable letters of King Charles II. are printed, from original holographs, all in the possession of the Marquis of Bristol, President of the Camden Society.

All of them were written during the residence of the exiled sovereign in Flanders, in the period between the death of his father and the Restoration. One letter, to which we have given precedence, was addressed to the King's mother, the dowager Queen Henrietta Maria; the other four were written to the well-known Henry Jermyn, the chief officer of the Queen's household, and her principal adviser. The first three of the letters to Jermyn are addressed to him by his title of Lord Jermyn, conferred upon him by Charles I. on the 8th of September, 1643; the last by that of Earl of St. Alban's, an advance in the peerage which was granted to him by Charles II. on the eve of the Restoration. The date of this earldom is usually assigned to the 27th April, 1660,[a] but its recognition in the letter now referred to is dated the 3rd April, 1660, which was probably

[a] Dugdale states that the letters patent conferring the dignity were dated at "Breda in Brabant, 27 Apr. an. 1660." The Earl of St. Alban's died on 2nd January, 1683-4, without issue. On that event his earldom became extinct, but his barony of "Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury in com. Suffolk" descended to Thomas the eldest son of Thomas the Earl's elder brother, on whose death in 1703 it also became extinct. (Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 469; Collect. Topog. and Genealog. ii. 337; and Lord Alfred Hervey's Paper on the Family of Hervey, p. 89.)

new style, and was consequently equivalent to the 24th March, 1659-1660, according to the style then prevalent in England.

Each of these letters has its special interest. From the first of them it would appear that the royal writer had warned his mother in a previous letter that the Earl of Balcarres, a Scottish nobleman of the highest character for loyalty, and who had been the King's secretary for Scotland, was no longer to be trusted. The Queen had expressed her astonishment at these tidings, had reminded the King of the good character he had given the Earl on his first coming to Paris, and had made inquiry respecting the nature of the evidence upon which the King now discarded his once valued servant. The letter with which we are now dealing is the answer of Charles II. He assures the Queen that he has unquestionable proofs against Lord Balcarres of double dealing and dishonesty, proofs under his own hand, which the King promises to send the Queen "as soon as he comes where the papers are."

This letter, it will be perceived, is valuable but tantalising; valuable as showing the King's belief that he did not act towards a highly important and respectable nobleman rashly, upon mere prejudice or hearsay, but upon evidence which he deemed sufficient, and the sufficiency of which he was willing to allow the Queen to test,—but still most tantalising, as it does not in itself give information which will enable any one to clear up the doubts which hang over this transaction.

Lord Balcarres was the leader of that Presbyterian party in Scotland which was opposed to the Earl of Argyle and all those who were inclined to act with Cromwell and the English Independents. In that character, and out of mere loyalty, Lord Balcarres and his admirable wife sacrificed every thing for King Charles. Ultimately, almost as pennyless fugitives, they made their way to the continent,

and shared the exile of their sovereign. But, among the feuds which divided Charles's mimic court, there was one between Lord Balcarres and Hyde the Lord Chancellor and historian. There were strong prejudices, national and personal, and above all religious prejudices, on both sides. Balcarres was a Scot and a Presbyterian—quite sufficient reasons for dislike on the one side—Hyde was a High Churchman, in which one quality was concentrated the essence of almost all evil in the judgment of the other. A struggle ensued. Balcarres was incautious, Hyde cunning, and the weakest went to the wall. The story, so far as the facts are at present known, may be read in Lord Lindsay's very interesting Lives of the Lindsays (ii. 100—112). It will there be seen, not indeed that the accusations against Lord Balcarres were unfounded, but that he was a very pious and amiable man.

Considerable difficulty has been found in positively assigning the letter which relates to this subject to any specific year. Whilst living at Bruges, and also whilst at Brussels, Charles went over on several occasions to Antwerp for a few days, and this letter was probably written during one of those visits. Charles was at Antwerp on the 28th July, 1658 (Thurloe's State Papers, vii. 280), but two letters in the Clarendon State Papers, (iii. 365, 369), from the King to the Princess Royal, in reference to the disgrace of Lord Balcarres, seem rather to point to the year preceding.

I.

KING CHARLES II. TO QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

Antwerp, 26 July [1657?].

MADAME,

I hope your Majestie hath that good opinion of me, as to beleeue

that your commandes carries euer so much waight with me, that at any time when I doe not comply with them, your Majestie may conclude the inconveniences on my parte are so greate, as I am confident you would be troubled if I should obay you, and the truth is, this businesse of my Lord Balcarres is of that nature; for your Majestie may be confident, that, after haueing giuen him so good a carrecter as I did at his first comming to Paris, I would not call my iudgement so farre in question, or run the venture of being thought apte to change my opinion of men vpon light groundes, if I had not those proofes against him of duble dealing and dishonesty as would iustifie me to all the world, though I had proceeded against him with a much seuerer sentence then hetherto I haue declared; and, because your Majestie shall not take my single worde for it, I will sende you, as soone as I come where the papers are, the proofes of what I say vnder his owne hande, which, if your Majestie will consider with an indifferent eye, you will at least conclude him not very fitt to put obligations vpon; and, for the promise your Majestie and my sister are ingaged in, can be of no waite in this particular, for certainly at the same time the person misbehaues him selfe he forfetts also the engagement, and I am confident your Majestie thinkes whosoeuer is faulty to me is so to you; I am sure it shall euer be so on my parte towardes your Majestie. I should say much more to your Majestie but that I deferre it till I can sende you the papers I mention, and will only now assure your Majestie that I am and ever will be, Madame,

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient sone and seruant,

CHARLES R[a].

[Neither addressed nor sealed.]

The next letter is addressed to Lord Jermyn. It relates in great part to a matter of account of little interest. But, after that has been discussed, we find a few sentences respecting another matter of some moment. Charles having now removed into

[a] The conclusion and signature of this letter are represented in the prefixed fac-simile.

the territories of Spain, which country was at war with England under Cromwell, an arrangement or treaty was made between the exiled sovereign and the King of Spain, whereby the latter agreed to make him an annual payment of 6,000 guilders, with half as much more for his brother the Duke of Gloucester. We find in this letter that the treaty with Spain was fully ratified, and that the King was about to send in a few days to Brussels, in the hope of receiving "fruit." In the mean time he urges Lord Jermyn to press for payment of an arrear of six months due on the French pension of 6,000 livres per month, which the King had received from the time of his arrival in Paris, after the battle of Worcester.

The result will appear in the letter which will follow the present.

II.

KING CHARLES II. TO LORD JERMYN.

Bruges, 21 July [1656 ?].

I haue three of yours vpon my handes, one of the 7, an other of the 14, of this month, and that of the 24 of the last which Tom Talbott[a] brought me yesterday. I must tell you there is a mistake

[a] Tom Talbot, one of five celebrated brothers who frequented the court of Charles II., is thus described by Clarendon: "The fourth brother was a Franciscan friar, of wit enough, but of so notorious debauchery that he was frequently under severe discipline by the superiors of his order for his scandalous life, which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland; but, not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always called his 'fool's coat,' and came seldom into those places where he was known, and so wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the place where the King was; and so he came to Cologne and Brussels and Bruges, and, being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother the Jesuit, who had not so good natural parts, though by his education he had more sobriety and lived without scandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbot, and after the King's return was in London in his man's clothes (as he called them), with the

in your bill for the 350 pistols, for Tom Blagge[a] shewes me your letter wherein you tell him you haue returned him 200 crowns, for which he is to receaue 465 gilders out of my bill, whereas I am informed by the marchant whome I haue imployd to receaue the mony for me, that there is but 21 poundes Flemish (which amounts but to 120 gilders and some odd shillings) more then is due to me vpon the exchange for the 250 pistols, therfore you must returne to him what is due ouer and aboue that summe. I hope you haue before this time receaued an order for the six monthes that are due, which I pray returne with all possible speede to me, for I want it very much, though the ratification be come to me from Spayne as fully as I could expect, of which I hope to receaue frute very shortly, to which purpose I intende to send to Brusselles within few dayes; there greate worke of Valancienes being as you know well ouer, I shall be very glade that a treaty betweene the two crownes may follow. Now, concerning what you write to me by Tom Talbot, I am of your opinion that I must be advised by these ministers heere in the conducting that businesse, there creditt and authority being likly to be of most vse to me in that place. I haue seald the Earle of Inchequin's pattent,[b] which I had signed so

natural licence of an Irish friar (which are a people, for the most part, of the whole creation the most sottish and the most brutal), and against his obedience, and all orders of his superiors, who interdicted him to say mass." (Life of Clarendon, p. 1193, ed. 1843.)

[a] Colonel Thomas Blagge, a gentleman of an ancient Suffolk family, groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I. and II., and a family connexion of Lord Jermyn. During the Civil War he was governor of Wallingford Castle, and, after the Restoration, Captain of Landguard Fort. He died on the 14th November, 1660, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A pedigree of the family of Blagge is published in Gage's History of Thingoe, p. 520, and more fully, as shewing its relationship to the Jermyns and the Godolphins, in Evelyn's Life of Mr. Godolphin (ed. Bishop of Oxford), p. 254.

[b] It is ordinarily stated that Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, was created by Charles II. Lord O'Brien and Earl of Inchiquin in the year 1654. This may have been the date of the sign manual here alluded to. Other facts mentioned in this letter show that it was written, and that consequently the Earl of Inchiquin's patent of his earldom was sealed, in 1658.

longe since, therfore I pray lett notice be taken of it that he may enioy all his rights.[a]

[*Postscript.*] I would haue you pay to S^r^ R. Foster[b] 200 liuers out of the first mony you receaue for me.[c]

[Addressed]—For my Lord Jermin.

[Seal.]—A small lozenge-shaped seal, bearing the royal arms (1 and 4. France and England quarterly; 2. Scotland; 3. Ireland.) surmounted by the crown, and with the initials C. R., one letter on each side of the shield. See photographed fac-simile in the plate prefixed, No. 2.

It appears from the third letter that on Lord Jermyn's application to Cardinal Mazarin for the amount due to Charles on his French pension, as directed in the last letter, he was informed, that, in consequence of the English sovereign's new arrangement with Spain, the pension alluded to would no longer be paid. Charles writes in reply, it will be seen, in considerable indignation. The account of the matter given by Lord Clarendon is as follows;—"As soon as the treaty [with Spain] was confirmed, in truth from the time that his Majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of France that he would no longer receive that pension, which during the time he had remained at Cologne had been reasonably well paid, but after his coming into Flanders he never would receive any part of it." (Hist. Rebell, book XV.) Charles's own statement is contained in the following letter.

[a] Signed with Charles II.'s knot, a fac-simile of which (with the address and conclusion of the letter) is given in the plate prefixed.

[b] Sir Richard Foster had been keeper of the King's privy purse.

[c] Signed in the same manner as the body of this letter mentioned in the preceding note marked *a*.

III.

KING CHARLES II. TO LORD JERMYN.

Bruges, 20 October [1656 ?].

I haue receaued yours of the 13, and am so farre from being vnsatisfied with the Cardinall's retrenching my pention, that I am sure I haue tould you before, if he had inclined to haue continued it, I would absolutly haue refused it. I pray therfore sende me worde to what time they haue pay'd it, and so how much I haue receaued from them, as likewise how much is in truth in arreare to that time, that I may be able as well to say how much they haue failed of making good what they promised, as to acknowledge what I haue receaued. You say the Cardinall preserues one equality towards me, that is, if here be any thing attempted vpon England, he shall complayne of nothing that is done; and yett, whilst he hath much more reason to beleeue that will be the case then the contrary, he complayns more then would become him whateuer the case shall be, and in all companyes talkes of establishing Cromwell, and vses other expressions then I expected from his discretion, when I gaue ouer expecting any thing from his kindenesse. I wish you should tell him, that a man who hath thought a necessity of his owne making warrant enough for such proceedings against me as no necessity could in truth excuse, should allowe a reall visible necessity, which he cannot but decerne, a good iustification of my doeing what all the world would laugh at me if I should not do; and you shall do well to put him in minde that I am not yett so low, but that I may returne both the courtisyes and the iniuryes I haue receaued.[a]

[Addressed]—For my Lord Jermin.

[Seal.] The same lozenge-shaped seal used in sealing No. II.

The next letter relates to a subject which was one of dispute and annoyance among the Protestant members of Queen Hen-

[a] Signed with the Charles II.'s knot mentioned in the note to the preceding letter.

rietta Maria's household and other English exiles living in Paris. When the Queen first took refuge in France, Charles I. appointed Dr. John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, and subsequently Bishop of Durham, to attend upon her as a kind of Protestant chaplain. Cosin assumed the spiritual charge of the numerous Protestant members of the Queen's household, and had an under-room in the Louvre assigned to him by the French government, to be used as a chapel for the performance of religious services according to the rites of the Church of England. After the death of Charles I. and the establishment of the Republic in England, the influence of Walter Montague, a son of the first Earl of Manchester, and a zealous convert to Catholicism, procured the withdrawal of the permission to perform worship in the under-room, on the ground that the French King could not permit the exercise of any other religion in one of his own houses than the Roman Catholic. At the same time Queen Henrietta Maria gave Dr. Cosin notice that she was no longer able to continue the payment that had been formerly assigned to him as a member of her household.

The Protestants appealed to Hyde, who was then Chancellor of Charles II.'s empty Exchequer, to intercede for the restoration of their liberty of worship. He represented to the Queen the ill effect which the withdrawal of these Protestant privileges must necessarily produce in England, especially in the feelings of the people of that country towards herself. She heard him with favour, but referred him to Walter Montague; telling him, moreover, that the Queen Regent of France had blamed her for want of zeal for her religion, and for not caring to advance it, or to convert any of her children. Hyde found Montague impervious to all reason. He denied that it was of any importance to the affairs of Charles II.

to regard the feelings of the members of the Church of England, and even asserted that it was the universal opinion that the members of that body could never do the King any service, but that all his hopes of restoration should be built upon the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians.

Queen Henrietta Maria was convinced by Hyde and not by Montague. She restored Dr. Cosin to his position as one of her household, and allotted him a private room in the apartments assigned to her, whcrein the Protestant services might be continued. These incidents occurred, according to Clarendon, from whom we have derived the particulars (History of the Rebellion, lib. xiii. and Life, part vi.), in the year 1650. This new arrangement lasted for some years; but it appears from the following letter, that, after Charles II. removed into the dominions of Spain, Henrietta Maria again withdrew Dr. Cosins's permission to celebrate Protestant worship. It seems from the following letter, addressed to Lord Jermyn, that Charles wrote to his mother on the subject, urging probably the same arguments which had on the previous occasion been addressed to her by Hyde. It is to Henrietta Maria's credit, that, although from time to time persuaded by the bigoted people about her to do many things, with a view to proselytism, which politically were extremely foolish, she had herself the good sense to regret the loss of her old confessor Father Phillips, who she said was a prudent and discreet man, and would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of doing good for Catholics; he always told her, "that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to her own religion, so she was to live well towards the Protestants, who deserved well from her, and to whom she was beholden." (Hist. Rebell. lib. xiii.)

IV.

KING CHARLES II. TO LORD JERMYN.

Brusselles, 2 August [1657 ?].

I was very sorry to heare that the Queene had forbiden Dr. Cosins the exercise of our religion, as he was wont to do; you will see what I have written to her vpon the matter, and I do coniure you to vse your vtmost endeauors that her Majestie would withdraw her commandes, and permitt the deane to officiat as he hath done formerly, for otherwise it will produce those inconveniences which are so visible as I thinke I neede not put you in minde of them.[a]

[Addressed]—For my Lord Jermin.

[Seal].—The small lozenge-shaped seal mentioned before.

The next and final letter (No. V.) indicates a totally different state of things from the preceding. In them we have seen the doubts, mistrusts, and bickerings, inseparable from the court of an exiled sovereign. In the one now presented the scene is entirely changed. The great man, during whose government the restoration of the family of Stuart was impossible, had gone to his rest; his son had retired into a position suited to his pusillanimity; the old Long Parliament which had been restored was about to dissolve itself; writs were to be issued to call a new parliament, which was to meet on the 25th April, 1660. Popular feeling in favour of the restoration had begun to make itself apparent, and the hopes of all Royalists were rising higher day by day. Such was the state of things in England. Charles II. and those about him were in a fever of excitement and expectation. He was still at Brussels; but his friends had begun to think, that, in expectation of a treaty between him and the English authorities, to settle the conditions of his resto-

[a] Signed with the Charles II.'s knot mentioned before.

ration, access to his mother might be convenient, besides that it would be far from agreeable to English negotiators to seek their King in Spanish territories. With these views we find that he and Lord Jermyn, now Earl of St. Alban's, were planning for his removal to Paris, and living day by day in expectation of what the post from England would bring. A Protestant wind, as it was termed in a later crisis of the history of this royal family, delayed the ordinary arrivals, and in the mean time rumours were afloat which greatly increased the natural anxiety of the expectant sovereign. It was under these circumstances that the following letter was written. On the meeting of the new Parliament events moved towards what had become their obvious end with increased celerity. On the $\frac{4}{14}$ May, at the suggestion of General Monk, Charles removed hastily out of the Spanish territories, and, at the same suggestion, addressed those letters to England dated from Breda, which were immediately followed by his triumphant restoration.

V.

KING CHARLES II. TO THE EARL OF ST. ALBAN'S.

Brusselles, 3 April, 1660.

I haue little to say to you, the post being not yett arriued from England, which comes very vnseasonably, for we did expect by these letters some thing of consequence, and the winde continues so full east, as no ships can stirre from thence. There is reports heere that come from Calais as if they should haue past a vote in the house for king, lords, and commons, the truth of which you know by this time.[a] Pray hasten all you can my comming to you; for,

[a] A letter of Lord Clarendon, dated the 10th of April, 1660, which, like the one above, was N.S., affords an apt explanation of these Calais reports: "The Parliament was, as you have heard, to be dissolved upon Thursday the 15th of the last month, but there had been

besides the passion I haue to wayte on the Queene, I thinke it the properest place for my publique concernes. There is a gunn which I bespoke of the Turenes; if it be finished pray send it to me, and I [will] returne you what it costs. God keepe you.[a]

[Addressed]—For the Earle of St. Alban's.

[Seal.]—The small lozenge-shaped seal before mentioned.

[Indorsed]—The King. April.

Several of these letters are attested, in lieu of a signature, by a mark, which we have taken upon ourselves to designate as Charles the Second's knot, from the general resemblance it bears to the various heraldic charges which are termed knots. The three letters addressed to Lord Jermyn are all authenticated by this mark, which is very accurately represented in No. 2 of the prefixed page of fac-

so many artifices used hy the Repuhlican party to stay the husiness of the militia, and afterwards to stop and corrupt it at the press, that the House resolved to sit again the next day, and then ahout seven o'clock at night they dissolved, to the universal joy of all the kingdom, the Repuhlican party only excepted, who had no mind to cashier themselves of a power they were like again never to he possessed of; the people not heing like to choose many of them to serve in the next Parliament. Before they dissolved they declared the engagement, by which men were hound to suhmit to the government without King or House of Lords, to he void and null, and to he taken off the file of all records, wherever it was entered; and this might he the ground of that report at Calais, that they had voted the government to he by King, Lords, and Commons ; hesides, there was a pretty accident that might contrihute thereunto, for the day hefore the Parliament dissolved, at full Exchange, there came a fellow with a ladder upon his shoulders, and a pot of paint in his hand, and set the ladder in the place where the last King's statue had stood, and then went up and wiped out that inscription which had heen made after the death of the King, *Exit Tyrannus, &c.*, and as soon as he had done it threw up his cap, and cried "God hless King Charles the Second!" in which the whole Exchange joined with the greatest shout you can imagine, and immediately caused a huge honfire to he made, which the neighhours of Cornhill and Cheapside imitated with three or four more; and so that action passed, nor do I find there was any order for it." (Clarendon Papers, iii. 725.)

[a] Signed with a variety of the Charles II's knot, represented, with the conclusion of his letter, in the fac-simile No. 4.

similes.[a] The last letter, addressed to the Earl of St. Alban's, is attested by a variation of this knot which is represented in No. 3 of the fac-similes.

Private letters of Charles II. are so uncommon that there are few examples with which those now published may be compared. In the Collection of Royal Letters edited by Sir George Bromley (8vo. Lond. 1788), there occur three;—one signed with the initials C. R., one unsigned, and the third authenticated by what appears, from the engraved fac-simile prefixed to that work, to be a variety of the same knot used in the letters now published. This example of the knot has been interpreted by the Editor of Sir George Bromley's volume to mean J. L., which signature he has accordingly appended to the letter in question (Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 284).

Of the seal by which four of these letters were closed, and which is described at p. 9, there is only to remark that it is so strikingly similar to one used by Charles I. that it can scarcely be distinguished from it. Examples of the similar seal of Charles I. may be seen in Harleian MS. 6988, folios 135 and 194. On a very minute comparison, slight differences will be found between the two impressions, *ex. gr.* in that of Charles II. the crown which surmounts the shield is raised a trifle higher above the shield, and the C., on the dexter side of the shield, is closer to the shield, than in the similar seal of Charles I.; probably the seal of Charles II. was engraved from an impression of his father's seal, or the latter was originally engraved in duplicate.

[a] It would be unjust not to mention that this most accurate and excellent plate of combined photography and lithography, for which the Society is indebted to the Marquis of Bristol, is the work of Mr. G. I. F. Tupper.

I. LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS LAKE, RELATING TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF SIR EDWARD COKE AT OATLANDS; AND,

II. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LAST VOYAGE.

COMMUNICATED TO THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY

BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXIV.

I.

Letter of the Council to Sir Thomas Lake, relating to the Proceedings of Sir Edward Coke at Oatlands.

[Council Register, July [21 ?][a] 1617.]

There hath an accident happened while the difference between Sir Edward Coke and his lady, by his Majesty's special commandment and referrence, was depending before the Table, being now concluded, about their youngest daughter Frances Coke. Wherein, because wee have received complaints on both sides, and have likewise given some order and direction therein, we thought it agreeable to our duty that his Majesty should rather hear of it from ourselves than by reportes.

There was a petition delivered unto us, upon sonday the 13. of this instant, by the Lady Hatton, complayning in somewhat a passionate and tragicall manner, that, while by his Majesty's grace she was settlinge and securing her poore fortune, she was by vyolence dispossessed of her childe; and informeing us that, in regarde of her daughter's weake constitucion, she had sent her to Sir Edmonde Wythipole's house for a small tyme, and that it was not don in any secret manner. Whereupon Sir Edward Coke, never asking or taking accompt what was become of her, but pretending warrant, as he said, from the Boarde, had the day before, with his sonne, and 10 or 11 servants, weaponed in violent manner, repaired to the house where their daughter was remaining, and with a piece of timber or forme broken open the doore, and dragged her alonge to

[a] The date given in the margin is July 11, which is manifestly too early, as Frances Coke was not restored to Hatton House till July 18. (See Chamberlain to Carleton, July 19, 1617. State Papers, Domestic, xcii. 96.) The letter previously entered in the Council Register is dated July 18.

his coach, with many other circumstances too long to trouble his Majestie withall. Whereupon, in regard the complaint contayned matter of ryott and disturbance, such as hath not happened since his Majesty's departure into Scotland, we appointed the Tuseday followinge for the hearing of Sir Edward Coke upon the same complainte. The matter beinge thus ordered, wee fell to other busines, and, while wee were in dispatch thereof, the Lady Hatton came to the councell chamber doore, and desired to have accesse to the Boarde. Which beinge admitted, shee was told that order was taken concerninge her peticion; but shee, making further instance, desired her daughter might be forthwith sent for, in regard shee was growne to that weaknes by occasion of the violence and fright shee had taken as was with speede to be looked unto for the safety of her life; and that therefore she might be brought to London that night, and remain in some place where shee might have such helpe by phisicke and attendance as were requisite for her preservacion and recovery. Which beinge thought reasonable in humanity, and for avoyding other inconveniences, a letter was written from the Boarde to Sir Edward Coke, acquaintinge him with his Lady's complainte and desire, and requiring him to deliver his daughter to Mr. Edmondes, clerk of the Councell, to be brought by him to London, and kept in his house untill the hearing of the cause; which Sir Edward Coke, upon some exceptions that it was late in the eveninge, and that his daughter was in no such extremitie, forebore to do, but with promise that upon his perrill he would deliver her at Mr. Edmondes' house the next morninge, which accordingly he did; although wee, upon his said forbearance, thinking our order neglected, and doubting whether he would keepe promise, had given warrant, with a clause of assistance, to bringe her to Mr. Edmondes' house accordingly; which warrant by reason of severall wayes missed to be served. And, after shee was brought to Mr. Edmondes' house according to his promise, we, hearinge that many freindes resorted thither on both sides, and doubting some disorder, gave directions that shee should be kept private untill the hearinge,

which was the next day, and twoe gentlewomen only to be admitted to her company, such as Sir Edward Coke and his lady should choose, which was accordingly performed, Sir Edward Coke choosing the Lady Compton, and his lady the Lady Burleigh.

Upon the hearinge of the cause before us on Tuesday in the afternoone, Sir Edward Coke, by his councell, did first make a recrimination, alledging that his lady had a purpose to carry his daughter into Fraunce, and that it was done of purpose to break off a match with that noble gentleman Sir John Villers; and accused one of his Ladies servants for slandringe Sir John Villers with wordes of disgrace and reproach. Whereupon it was thought fitt by the Boarde to deliver the cause of any thinges that was impertinent, wee all making declaracion that we thought that noble gent. every way a worthie match for his daughter, and not doubtinge but that he would seeke her in a noble and religious fashion, without any forced consent of the mayde, and with consent of both parents, and the rather because part of her fortune did depend upon the mother's disposinge; and therefore directed Sir Edward Coke to two pointes, the one to prove the practize of his Lady for the transportinge and slander, the other to defend the ryot and force wherewith he was charged. Wherein we founde that he made no proofe of the first allegacion concerning her purpose to transporte the gentlewoman into France, neither did we find the matter of scandall proved to our satisfaccion, being avouched only by one witness, and denyed by the partie accused upon his salvacion and offer of his oath. Whereunto was added by way of proof a speech of a very base woman then absent, of which we tooke little regard. And howsoever they were but words of a leude servant (if they had been proved) noe way touching his Lady, who did utterly renounce the same, with significacion of all honor and respect to the gentleman.

As for his defence, he did not insist upon any warrant he had, but said he would justify it by lawe upon all, which matter the Boarde thought fit that because it appeared that so greate a ryot now in the King's absence, and by a person of that quallity, was fitt

severely to be punished; the rather for that he called no constable or other officer unto him, as he confessed, but took upon him, beinge the partie greived, to be *vindex doloris proprii*, contrary to all government; and for that the King's Attorney being presente mayntayned the law to be to the contrary, so as there was no fitt meanes to admitt him to his justificacion but by a legal prosecution; order was given by the Boarde that the Attorney-General should preferr an informacion into the Courte off Starr Chamber against Sir Edward Coke for the force and ryott used by him upon the house of Sir Edmond Withipole, to be in that Courte heard and sentenced as justice shall appertaine. And, to prevent all new occasion of tumulte or breach of peace, it was likewise thought fitt that their daughter should be disposed into some convenient place agreeable to her worth and quality until farther order were taken. For which purpose choice was made, by consent of Sir Edward Coke and his lady, of the house of the Lord Knivett neere Staines; and in the meane time, untill the Lord Knivett should returne his answere, shee was disposed to the house of his Majesty's Attorney-Generall. And wee likewise enjoyned Sir Edward Coke and his Lady in the behalf of her freinds to forbeare all occasion of violence or disturbance whatsoever, as well touching the person of their daughter as any other matter or pointe concerning that busines. But now since, this matter seemeth to have had a fairer conclusion; for that wee find that the writings are perfected, and not only soe, but the parties Sir Edward Coke and his Lady reconsiled, and the daughter, with both their good likenges, sent to live with their father and mother in Sir Edward Coke's house. Which good ende hath been much furthered by the charitable endeavour of his Majesty's Attorney-Generall. And the information and all other proccedinges in the business is suspended and left wholy to his Majesty's pleasure.

II.

Documents relating to Sir Walter Raleigh's last Voyage.

1. *Proceedings at the Privy Council relating to Captain Bayly's desertion.*

[Council Register, Jan. 11, 1618.]

The Judge of the Admiraltie this day attending the Boord, together with the register of the Courte and all suche examinations and deposicions as had been formerly taken touching the departure of Captaine John Baily with his shippe and company from Sir Walter Raleigh at the island of Lancerota, and the causes pretended to move him thereunto, as also the copie of his Majesty's commission graunted unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh for his intended voyage unto certain parts of America, together with a paper in the nature of a relation or journall of what had passed in the same voyage from the time of their setting forth until their arrival at Lancerota, written by Captain Bayly, and dispersed by him in severall copies unto some of his particular freinds after his returne unto England, being all this day publickly read before their lordshipps, and the said Captaine Baily himselfe *vivâ voce* heard what he could saye in his owne justification and defence; their lordshipps, having first gravely debated and weighed the same and all considerable circumstances thereto appertaining, do with full consent agree and conclude that the sayd Captain Baily hath behaved himself undutifully and contemptuously, not only in flying from his Generall upon some false and frivolous suggestions without any just cause at all, but also in defaming his said Generall in the before-mentioned journall or relation, wherein he chargeth him with cousenage, and layeth upon him other fowle and base imputations. For which cause their Lordships have thought him worthie of imprisonment

for the present, and to be proceeded withal afterwards for his said offences as to justice doth belong. Moreover, whereas upon another information lately brought unto the Lord Admiral, and by his Lordship this day (after the other business had been heard at large) communicated to the Board, showing that Captain Baily did upon Thursday last, the 8. of this month, in the presence of one Captain Chester, Hasell, Wilkes, and others, utter certayne threatening speeches against the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh, which Baily then sayd he would this day acquaynt the Lords withall, synce Sir Walter Ralegh's freinds went about to undoe him and overthrowe his fortunes; the effect of which speeches were, (as some of the witnesses aforesayd, being called and present, dyd aver at the Boarde,) that he could charge Sir Walter Raleigh and other greate ones with matter of treason against his Majesty, committed or conceived about a twelvemoneth since, as his wordes at that time are sayd to importe; the said Baily was this day also interrogated thereupon by their Lordshipps, who denyeth the same in parte, that is, that he never sayde he could charge any greate ones other than Sir Walter Raleigh with treason, nor him neyther but out of the mouth and reporte of one Mr. Hastinges, brother unto the Earl of Huntingdon, who is gone with Sir Walter Raleigh this journy, and at Plimouth tolde the said Bayly (as hee affirmeth) that hee had matter of treason to charge Sir Walter Raleigh withall, but in what particular Baily knoweth not. Nevertheless, forasmuch as the said Baily, having a matter of so high and heinous a nature as this is concernyng his Majesty's person or state (whom God preserve), revealed unto him soe long since, and hee not discovering the same sooner, as in duty and by the law he was bound upon his perill, besydes that hee blauncheth and deales not ingenuously in his answer to that point, as their Lordships do suppose, they have thought fitt, and soe doe order, that he shall be first committed to close prison for this cause also, and direccion given to his Majesty's learned Councell for the further examination of him and such others as were present when the said words were spoken. And howbeit it should so fall out that

he might be acquitted touching the sayd matter of treason, and noe cause founde in that respect to deteyne him any longer in close prison, yet it is ordered that he shall nevertheless there continew under restraint for his misdemeanours towardes his Generall Sir Walter Raleigh, and bee proceeded withall otherwise according to lawe, and as in the first parte of this act is above mentioned.

2. *Proceedings at the Privy Council against Sir Walter Raleigh, Aug.* 17, 1618.

[Lansdowne MS. 142, fol. 396.]

A charge by Mr. Attorney-Generall[a] against Sir Walter Raleigh.

Faults before his going this last voyage.

Faults committed in his voyage.

Faults committed since.

He hath committed against him who hath saved his life by his grace.

Never subject so obliged to his sovereign.

Sir Walter of late not weary of his fault, but of his restraint of liberty, giveth ——(?) of a golden mine.

Saith no man knoweth it but himselfe; none can come by it without himselfe; no man could execute the busines but himselfe.

His Majesty in respect of his countries good licenseth him by his commission under the greate seele;—but limited thus—

1. that he should goe against infidels.
2. for to recover that which the inhabitants cared not for.
3. to avoide th'offence of the King's freinds.

His impostures.

1. Hee never intended a mine.
2. Hee purposed to set war between the 2 kings of England and Spaine.

[a] Sir H. Yelverton.

3. He abandoned and put in danger all his companie.
4. His unfaithfull carriage to the king and his companie.

The commission dated 26 *Aug. an. R. R. Jacobi* 14.

1. i. Hee carried no pioners nor instruments towards that business.
ii. Hee gave no order to his men to seake the mine.
iii. Hee desired onely to have a piece of ewer [ore?] to bleare the King's eyes.
iv. He told one who charged him thereabouts that he must promise somewhat to satisfie and drawe on his company.
v. His sonnes speeches to the soldiers to attend the spoile of S^{t} Thomas, for that was the mine they sought after.

2. S^{t} Thomas belongeth to the Spaniards; they possessed it; Sir Walter's company assaile it, and by direction from Sir Walter Raleigh. Had a commission from the French king to assail Spaniards.

When hee sawe that the towne was taken, and yet got little by it, he resolved to revitaile himselfe, and then make his voyage uppon the Mexico flete.

3 [and 4]. Hee signified to his companie that hee had a commission to doe what he did.

That hee would not put his head any more under the King's girdle.

Hee put it to voyces to his company whether hee should return to England or noe.

After his son was dead hee would have departed and leave his poore company behind him. Hee would have given all his ships to the company, so hee might have but a ship to carry him into some other countrey.[a]

[a] The following words are also noted down unconnectedly as having formed part of Yelverton's speech: "Qui in vinculis malus est, omnium est pessimus."

Mr. Solicitor-General.[a]

His actions beyond sea shewed his want of love and dutie. But his actions since at home shewe his want of feare and dutie.

1. His purpose of flight before commandment layd upon him.
2. His endeavour to flie after the arrest upon him.
3. His impostures to deceive the King and State.
4. His vile and dishonourable speeches, full of contumely to the King.

[1.] i. The lawes penall against the flight from an ordinary judge; much more from the King.

ii. To deny the fault and fly from his justice is to charge the King with injustice.

2. Hee prepared a ship to carry him; hee procured money to defray him.

Hee endeavours to corrupt Manery. Hee endeavoured to corrupt Stukeley his keeper.

If Sir Lewis Stukely had not prevented him, he had been gone.

3. Sir Walter Raleigh at Salisbury began to use impostures of disguising his bodie with sores, blisters, botches, and the like, swimming in his head and dazzling of his eyes.

Fancied himself mad, and to that purpose looked vomative, fell into a convulsion of his sinewes, made men to hold his hands, rubbed his urinall with a medicine to turne his water, to make the world to thinke that he was dangerously sicke. He persuadeth Manery to persist in all these impostures, saying hee would one day laugh at this hartily that hee had so pretely abused both king and state.

4. Sir Walter at Mr. Drake's house tore his haire, stamped on the ground, and, with many execrable othes, said that his trust to the King undid him, and he knew he must die to please the State.

Nere Sherborne he said to Manery that the said lordship and all thereabouts was his, unjustly taken from him, charging the King with injustice and breach of faith and promise to him; and therefore

[a] Sir T. Coventry.

concluded, as Mr. Atturney did before, that Sir Walter Raleigh was nowe unworthie of any further continuance of his Majesty's favour towards him.

Sir Walter's answere.

1. That he verily thinketh that his Majesty doth in his conscience clear him of all guiltiness for his falt of an. 1, and that he hath heard that the King said that he would not bee tried by a jury of Middlesex. Archelaus in the 2 booke of Macabees his speeche—"That had hee been amongst Scithians hee had not been condemned."

That Dr. Turner told him that Justice Gawdy upon his deathbed said, that the justice of England was never so depraved and injured as in the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Answere to Mr. Attorney's 4 *objections.*

1. He intended a mine, carried refiners and tooles to his charge of 2,000 lib. with him, and trusted Captain Kemish, in whom also they confided, to find the mine, and the force hee sent was not to invade them of S^{t} Thomas, but to keape betwene them and the mine, least the Spaniards should interrupt them in theire search and work.

3. Hee abandoned not his men as is reported by Sir John Ferne, nor to have gon away and left them in the Indies.

2. Hee denieth it.

4. Hee denieth it.

His answere to Mr. Sollicitor's objections.

1, 2. Hee sought not to escape till his arrest by Sir Lewis Stukeley, and afterwards he confesseth to have endeavored to escape.

3. Fatetur facinus qui judicium fugit, vel simulat se fatuum vel insanum, cum non sit, ad fugiendum judicium. Sir Walter did confesse it, excusing himselfe therein by the example of David being with King Achis, and faining himselfe mad.

4. Confesseth that hee said that his confidence in the King de-

ceaved, but denieth that hee used any other ill speeches against the King.

And being confronted with Captens S^{t} Leger and Pennington, confesseth that hee proposed the taking of the Mexico fleete if the mine failed.

See the letter dated July 1611, Counsell Book.[a]

[a] This volume of the Council Register has not been preserved; but the following passage in the agreement printed by Sir R. Schomburgh is probably what is referred to: "Your Lordships," writes Raleigh, "as I remember, did offer to be at the charge to transport Keymis into Guiana with such a proportion of men in two ships as should be able to defend him against the Spaniards inhabiting upon Orenoke if they offered to assail him; not that it is meant to offend the Spaniards, or to begin any quarrel with them, except themselves shall begin the war." Discovery of Guiana, ed. Schomburgh, p. 165.

A CATALOGUE

OF

EARLY ENGLISH MISCELLANIES

FORMERLY IN THE

HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

EDITED BY

W. CAREW HAZLITT, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following List has been prepared from an impression that it might serve as an useful aid to the bibliographer and collector. In consequence of its cumbrous and ill-arranged form, Osborne's Catalogue of the Harleian Library is almost a sealed book, and it seemed to the compiler that an alphabetical catalogue of the English rarities in that matchless assemblage of the printed literature of all ages and all nations would not prove unacceptable.

It was no easy matter in many cases to draw the line of selection —obviously an inevitable process; and it often proved a puzzling task to decide between books which did, and those which did not, come within the desired category. But for the most part, and with the fewest possible exceptions, the principle of admitting only the rarest and most curious publications in early English poetry, typography, and the drama, has been rigidly observed. To have done otherwise would not in the slightest degree have answered the object in view; and, on the contrary, would have swollen these sheets to an inconvenient bulk.

A considerable number of articles occur in the ensuing pages, which, from their great rarity and value, command special attention.

In Shakespeare's works the Library was not particularly rich. It boasted, however, the *Venus and Adonis* of 1602, the *Othello* of

1622, and the *Sonnets*, 1609. The absence of all but the folios of 1664 and 1685 is sufficiently remarkable.

Of Novels and Romances the Library had a liberal share. We find Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (two editions), *Arthur of Little Britain* (Redborne's edition?), the *History of King Arthur*, 1485 (now in the Osterley Park Collection, and considered the only perfect copy known), the *Life of Jason* (Caxton), the *Life of Charlemagne* (ib.) &c. It may be worth noticing that there were two editions of the History of King Arthur, but whether the second was that of 1498, 1529, or 1557, it is difficult to determine. It was most probably none of them, but the undated impression by Thomas East.

Among the class of publications which may come within Capel's definition of a story-book, we find Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608, an abridgement of an earlier work by that humorous writer; Bernard Garter's *History of Two English Lovers*, 1565, of which Lord Oxford had two copies; Robert Toft's *Two Tales from Ariosto*, 1597, and translation of Boiardo, 1598; *Beware the Cat*, by William Baldwin, 1584, of which there had been editions in 1561 and 1570, but of which no perfect copy has since 1743 occurred for sale; and others too numerous to particularize.

In the dramatic department there were: A *Comedy of the Beauty and Good Properties of Women*, one of the rarest specimens of the kind; Bale's *Comedy of Nature*, *Moses and Christ*, 1538, *New Custom*, 1573, and *Apius and Virginia*, by R. B. 1575. Rankin's *Mirror of Monsters*, 1587, and several other pieces by Gosson, Stubbes, &c., for or against the stage, were in that admirable collection.

The present catalogue will show how rich the Library was in

early popular literature, and in the poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Productions which have become in our time hopelessly inaccessible were there in tantalizing abundance. It will be sufficient to point out such books as Gower's *Confessio Amantis* printed by Caxton, Chaucer's *Works* from the same press (his Canterbury *Tales?*), Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, 1524, Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1517, the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, 1550, on vellum, Skelton's *Poems*, 1568, Barclay's *Eclogues*, Breton's *Works of a Young Wit*, 1577, and *Pasquil's Mistress*, by the same, 1600, Smith's *Chloris*, 1596, Gwyn's *Poems* (1588), Stanyhurst's Virgil, printed at *Leyden* in 1582, which has not yet been recovered, Sydney's *Apology for Poetry*, 1595, Sharrock's *Elizabeth Queen*, 1585, translated from the Latin of Oelandus, *England's Helicon*, 1600 (the same perhaps which sold at Dr. Webster's sale in 1690 for 1*s.* 9*d.*), Arthur Newman's *Poems*, 1619, Barbour's *Bruce*, 1616, &c. It may be mentioned that no edition of the *Bruce* dated 1616 has been seen, though such an one is stated by Pinkerton to exist; while of *England's Helicon*, Newman's *Poems*, Sydney's *Apology for Poetry*, and the *Astrophel and Stella*, by the same, 1591, only two or three perfect exemplars are known. The Grenville copy of Sharrock's version of Oelandus is *supposed* unique; nor is the Editor aware that any second copy of Breton's Works, 1577, or of Gwyn's Poems, 1588, has ever passed the hammer during the present century.

In early typography we observe thirty-six Caxtons, including the so-called apocryphal *Lucidary* ascribed to Andrew Chertsey, upwards of seventy volumes from the press of W. de Worde, and twenty-six from that of Pynson. Among the Wynkyn de Wordes occurs the *Parliament of Devils*, 1509! Besides these examples,

there was the celebrated *Boethius* of 1525, *King Boccus and Sydrack* (1510), *Twelve Merry Jests of the Widow Edith*, 1525, of which only two copies are believed to survive, and of which the existence is doubted in the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*.

In the department of facetiæ, there were, in addition to Edith's *Jests*, Scogin's *Jests*, 1613, Borde's *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*, 1613, Skelton's *Merry Tales* (1567), *Merry Tales and Quick Answers*, 1567, and a curious collection entitled, *A New Book of Mistakes, or Bulls with Tales and Bulls without Tales*, 1637.

A CATALOGUE

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EARLY ENGLISH MISCELLANIES

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*** Where no date or place is given to a book of which there are several editions, it must be understood that these points of information are not given in the Catalogue. It should be added, that the present List has been unavoidably confined to an enumeration, in alphabetical order, of the rarer articles.

A.

A. (H.) Partheneia Sacra . . . 8vo. Paris, 1633

Adam Bel, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudeslie . . . . 4to. Lond. n. d.

Adamson, Henry. The Muses' Threnodie . 4to. Edin. 1638

Aleyn, C. History of Henry VII. . . 8vo. Lond. 1638

—— The same, another copy.

Anatomy, The, of a Woman's Tongue; in verse . 8vo. Lond. 1638

Angling. A Book of Fishing (By Leonard Mascall) . . . . 4to. Lond. 1590

—— The same, another Edition . . 4to. Lond. 1606

Answer (An) to a Papistical Exhortation pretending to avoid false doctrine; in verse . 8vo. Lond. n. d.

Anton, R. Philosopher's Satires; in verse . 4to. Lond. 1616

Apuleius, L. The Golden Ass, translated by Addington . . . . 4to. Lond. 1566

Ariosto. Two Tales from Ariosto, translated by R. T[oft] . . . . 4to. Lond. 1597

Armin, R. A Nest of Ninnies . . 4to. Lond. 1608

Armstrong, A. A Banquet of Jests . . 8vo. Lond. 1639

Arnold's Chronicle, 3rd impression. . . fol. *sine ulla notâ*

Arthur of Little Britain. History of, translated by Lord Berners . . . fol. Lond. n. d.

Arthur. The History of the Most Noble King Arthur . . . . fol. Lond. n. d.
Ascham, R. Toxophilus . . . 4to. Lond. 1545
—— The same, another edition . . 4to. Lond. 1571
—— Discourse of the Affairs of Germany . 4to. Lond. 1552
—— The Schoolmaster . . . 4to. Lond. 1571
Ashmole, E. Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum 4to. Lond. 1652

B.

B. (G.) Beware the Cat . . . 8vo. Lond. 1584
B. (G.) Ludus Scacchiæ, in verse . . 4to. Lond. 1597
B. (R.) Apius and Virginia, a Play . . 4to. Lond. 1575
Bacon. Famous History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay . . . . 4to. ———
Bacon, F. Essays . . . . 16mo. Lond. 1597
—— Another edition . . . . 12mo. Lond. 1613
Bale, John. Comedy concerning the Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ . . 8vo. —— 1538
—— Chronicle of Sir John Oldcastle . . 8vo. Lond. 1554
Balista, C. Overthrow of the Gout, in verse; transl. by B. G. . . . . 8vo. Lond. 1577
Bancroft, T. Two books of Epigrams and Epitaphs . . . . . 4to. Lond. 1639
Barbour, John. Life and Acts of Robert Bruce 8vo. Edin. 1616
Barclay, A. Eclogues 4to. Lond., by John Herford, n. d.
Barksdale, C. Nympha Libethris, or the Cotswold Muse . . . . 8vo. Lond. 1651
Bateman, Stephen. The Travelled Pilgrim . 4to. Lond. 1569
Beacon, R. Solon his Folly, large paper . 4to. Oxf. 1594
Bently, T. Monuments of Matrons, in seven parts . . . . . 4to. Lond. 1582
Berners, Juliana. The Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing . . . fol. Lond. 1496
—— Another edition . . 4to. Lond., by W. Copland, n. d.

Berners, Juliana. Another edition 4to. Lond., by J. Walley, n. d.
—— Another edition . . . . 4to. Lond. 1586
—— Another edition . . . . 4to. Lond. 1595
Bettie, W. History of Titana and Theseus . 4to. Lond. 1636
Bevis. The History of Bevis of Southampton, black letter . . . . 4to. Lond. n. d.
—— Another edition . . . . 4to. Lond. 1689
Bishop, John. Beautiful Blossoms . . 4to. Lond. 1577
Boccaccio, G. Amorous Fiammetta, transl. by B. Young . . . . 4to. Lond. 1587
—— Tragedies transl. by Lydgate . . 4to. Lond. 1554
—— Another edition . . . . 4to. Lond. 1558
Boccus. History of King Boccus and Sydrack, 4to. Lond. by Thomas Godfray (1510)
Bodenham, John. Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses . . . . 8vo. Lond. 1600
—— England's Helicon . . . 4to. Lond. 1600
Boece, H. History and Chronicles of Scotland. fol. Edin. 1536
Boethius. De Consolatione Philosophiæ; translated by John Walton . 4to. Tavistock, 1525
Boiardo. Orlando Inamorato, the three first books; translated by R. T[oft] . . 4to. Lond. 1598
Bonarelli, G. de. Phillis of Sciros; transl. by J. S. 4to. Lond. 1655
Bonner, (E. Bp. of London). An Epitaph or Short Discourse upon him . . 8vo. Lond. 1569

*** In verse. By "Thomas Knell, Junior."

Book, (A New) of Mistakes, or Bulls with Tales, and Bulls without Tales . . 12mo. Lond. 1637
Borde, A. Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham . . . . 12mo. Lond. 1613
Braithwaite, R. The Laws of Drinking . 12mo. Lond. 1617
Breton, N. The Works of a Young Wit . 4to. Lond. 1577
—— Britton's Bower of Delight . . 4to. Lond. 1597

Breton, N. Pasquil's Mistress, or the Worthy and Unworthy Woman . . 4to. Lond. 1600
—— Pasquil's Pass and Passeth Not . . 4to. Lond. 1600
—— Pasquil's Madcap with Madcap's Message . 4to. Lond. 1600
—— Old Madcap's New Gallimawfry, made into a merry mess of Mingle-Mangle . 4to. Lond. 1602
—— The Mother's Blessing . . . 4to. Lond. 1602
—— A Post with a Packet of Mad Letters . 4to. Lond. 1615
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D.

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*** This may be identical with the work of a similar kind published in the same year by T. Lovell.

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*** No folio edition of 1631 is at present known; possibly 1631 should be 1601.

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*** For other Editions see Worde, W. de, and Pynson, R.

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K.

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L.

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⁂ No such edition is now known.

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⁂ Some of Lloyd's other works were in the Library.

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LETTERS

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COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPHS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM TITE, ESQ., M.P., V.P.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXIV.

LETTERS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF WILLIAM TITE, ESQ. M.P.

THE following Letters claim attention upon three distinct grounds. They proceed from persons to whose names there attaches a never-dying interest; they are of historical importance; and they are peculiarly characteristic of their writers.

The first of them, regarded as an autograph, is an excellent specimen of the large distinct hand written by CHARLES I. at the commencement of his reign. This writing has been greatly praised. Some persons have even termed it beautiful. Others may deem it laboured, weak, uncertain, and like the early efforts of a school-boy. All will admit that it has the great merit of being in the highest degree legible.

The letter itself, when read in connection with passing events, is full of character. It is addressed by the King to his sister Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, then a widow, and living as an exile at the Hague. The great war which had desolated Germany for nearly fifteen years was still in progress. Gustavus Adolphus had died on the field of Lutzen in November 1632; but the cause for which he had shed his blood still continued, after many fluctuations, to hold up its head. There had stepped into the place of the great hero, Axel Oxenstiern, the Chancellor of Sweden, a man who shared the Protestant feeling and the undespairing energy of his renowned master; but Oxenstiern exhibited these qualities not in the

field, but in the cabinet. By diplomatic skill, displayed in the continual formation of new arrangements and combinations, Oxenstiern was enabled to recruit the Swedish veterans who had fought their way into the very heart of Germany, and to bring new armies into the field to their support. A great part of the hereditary dominions of the Palatinate family had now been won back again. Elizabeth's eldest son was of age to take the government. Oxenstiern was prepared to yield the country up to him upon terms in which the Duke of Simmeren, the administrator of the Palatinate during the young Elector's minority, was willing to concur, but which the desolated country was too poor to carry out. Charles I., the boy's maternal uncle, was appealed to for assistance. There was infinite discussion, and profession, and delay, but no help. Elizabeth, long versed as she had been in disappointment, was deeply wounded. She felt inclined to abandon all hope. It was not so with Oxenstiern. He determined to make another trial, and for that purpose despatched his son, Baron John Oxenstiern, who had been in England before, on a special mission to the Court of Charles I. His design was really to ascertain whether or not any expectation might be entertained of assistance from England. On his route Oxenstiern passed through Holland, and conferred with Elizabeth. His youthful animation and trustfulness aroused the decayed confidence of the deserted Queen, and once more she felt inclined to hope. She was again doomed to discover that she had trusted to a broken reed. Oxenstiern arrived in London at a most unpropitious moment. The intrigue against Spain in the Low Countries having been brought to an end, the King was now intriguing with Spain against the United Provinces, and, under pretence of clearing the Channel of pirates, was about to set forth a great fleet, one object of which was to act against Holland. At such a time, when the Spanish party in the English government was dominant, but dared not avow its objects, it was impossible to enter into

closer relations with Sweden, all whose movements and objects were adverse to Spain. The young man failed entirely. He was played with in a manner not yet, it is to be feared, quite obsolete among diplomatists and official persons; and, after a residence of some months in England, left the country disgusted and annoyed. He even refused to accept the present of plate which it was customary to bestow upon departing ambassadors. He would not himself receive benefit—he is said to have declared—from an embassy which had not advantaged those who sent him.[a]

This was the mission referred to in the following letter. Although its utter failure was well known, and occasioned a great deal of muttering and discontent among the partisans of Elizabeth, the particular excuse made to Oxenstiern by the English government did not appear, so far as we have observed, in the papers of the time. The letter now published intimates what it was. The English ministers picked a hole in Oxenstiern's instructions, and, declaring them to be insufficient, rode off in triumph at their own ingenuity, vainly imagining, as they dismissed young Oxenstiern, that they could blind the world as to the real grounds of their refusal.

But we have seen that besides Sweden there was another party to this transaction—the King's "only dear sister." It was necessary that some account of the failure should be given to her. Something must be said to soothe her disappointment, and prevent her throwing herself into the arms of France, which, by way of securing a footing in the Palatinate, was ready to give the help which England denied. This was the King's part in the affair, and he performed it in the letter now before us. Every reader will be able to judge how he executed his task after the explanation which has been given. The letter, printed *verbatim et literatim*, runs as follows:—

[a] See Mrs. Green's life of Elizabeth of Bohemia, in Lives of Princesses, v. 533. We have consulted also the State Papers, both Foreign and Domestic, respecting this mission.

KING CHARLES I. TO ELIZABETH QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

My onlie deare Sister,

I hope shortlie to make a full dispatche to you by my Agent Boswell,[a] therfore I shall say littell to you at this tyme, but that I hope ye beliue that it is not my want of affection to your affaires, but Oxensternes want of instructions, that hes made him haue so ill succesce hithertoo in his negotiations, of which I hope alreddie you haue had some accounte; & so I rest

Your louing Brother to serue you,

Charles R.

Greenewiche the 13. of May, 1634.

I hope the haste of the bearer will excuse the abruptness of my letter.

[No address or seal.]

II.

The second Letter is one of great and peculiar interest—it is Oliver Cromwell's military despatch announcing his relief of Gainsborough, and the advance into the Eastern counties of the great body of royal troops under the command of the Earl of Newcastle. The circumstances were briefly these. The Earl, advancing southwards, met Lord Fairfax on the 30th June, 1643, on Atherton Moor, and totally defeated him. With the shattered remnant of his army Fairfax managed with great difficulty to escape into Hull, whilst the Earl pursued his onward course, driving the Parliamentary forces before him. In the mean time two other bodies of the Parliamentarians were advancing northward, one under Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and the other under Cromwell. Lord Willoughby, by a rapid and skilful movement, surprised Gainsborough, which was held for the King by the Earl of Kingston, and took it by assault. Cromwell

[a] Sir William Boswell, the King's diplomatic agent at the Hague.

in like manner captured Burghley House, built by the great Lord Treasurer, and then advanced to Grantham, which had lately been taken for the King by Colonel Charles Cavendish, second son of the Earl of Devonshire, and by him had been almost demolished. Cromwell's design was to move northward from Grantham to Gainsborough, taking with him supplies of ammunition and victuals for Lord Willoughby, who was already inclosed, if not besieged, by the forces of the King. Advancing the nearest way across Nottinghamshire, Cromwell effected a junction with three hundred cavalry from Nottingham, under Sir John Meldrum, at North Scarle. This was on Thursday evening the 27th July, 1643. Having paused there for a few hours' refreshment and sleep, at two o'clock the next morning he was again in motion, and advanced unmolested until he arrived within about a mile and a half from Gainsborough. There his farther progress was opposed by a body of the enemy under the command of the same Colonel Cavendish who had lately distinguished himself at Grantham. Here the incidents first related in the letter before us took place. Mr. Carlyle, who visited the spot when writing his work on Cromwell, describes the nature of the ground.[a] Without hesitation Cromwell led his soldiers to the attack, and was entirely victorious. Colonel Cavendish was killed, and the relieving forces safely delivered their supplies in Gainsborough.

Scarcely had Cromwell accomplished his work of relief, when intelligence arrived at Gainsborough that a force of the enemy was advancing upon the town from the north. Cromwell sent out his troops with the addition of 400 foot of Lord Willoughby's, all being under the command of Major Whalley, to reconnoitre. They soon fell in with the enemy, and ere long discovered that they were not opposed to a mere band of skirmishers, but to the advanced guard of the triumphant army of the Earl of Newcastle. The inequality of numbers was too great to venture a contest. Cromwell

[a] Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, i. 185, ed. 1846.

himself conducted the retreat, which was not effected without some little disorder and loss. Wearied with their day's work, the foot recovered Gainsborough, where they remained under the command of Lord Willoughby. Cromwell with the horse retreated to Huntingdon, whence he addressed the following letter to the Committee of the Association of the Eastern Counties:—

OLIVER CROMWELL TO SIR EDMUND BACON, SIR WILLIAM SPRING, SIR THOMAS BARNARDISTON, AND MAURICE BARROW.

GENTLEMEN,—[Noe man desires more to præsent you with incoragments then my selfe, because of the forwardnesse I finde in you (to your honor bee it spoken) to promote this great cause, and truly God followes you w^th^ incoragments, whoe is the God of blessinges, and I beseech you lett him not loose his blessings vpon vs; they come in season, and with all the aduantages of hartninge, as if God should say, "Up and bee doeinge! and I will helpe you and stand by you." There is nothinge to bee feared but our owne sinn and sloath.]

It hath pleased the Lord to giue your seruant and souldiers a notable victorie now att Gainsbrowe. I marched, after the takinge of Burlye house, vpon Wedensday to Grantham, where mett mee about 300 horse and dragoones of Notingham. With theise, by agreement with the Linconers, wee mett att North Scarle, w^ch^ is about tenn miles from Gainsbrowe, vpon Thursday in the eueninge, where wee tarried vntill two of the clocke in the morninge, and then, with our whole body, aduanced towards Gainsbrowe. About a mile and halfe from y^e^ towne wee mett a forlorne hope of y^e^ enimie of neere 100. horse. Our dragoones labored to beate them backe; but, not alightinge off their horses,[a] the enemie charged them, [and beate some 4. or fiue of them off their horses. Our horse charged them,]

[a] Dragoons were at that time a kind of footmen on horseback. On service they generally alighted from their horses. They marched eleven in a rank, or file, and when they alighted to serve, the eleventh man held the horses of the ten. (Grose's Milit. Antiq., i. 111.)

and made them retyer vnto their maine body. Wee aduanced and came to the bottom of a steepe hill [vpon w^ch^ the enimie stood]. Wee could not well gett vp but by some tracts, w^ch^ our men assayinge to doe, a body of the enimie indeauored to hinder, wherein wee præuailed, and gott the top of the hill. This was donn by the Linconers, whoe had the vantgaurd. When wee all recouered the top of the hill, wee saw a great body of the enimies horse facinge of vs att about muskitt shott or lesse distance, and a good reserue of a full regiment of horse behinde itt. Wee indeauored to putt our men into as good order as wee could, the enimie in the meane tyme aduancinge towards vs to take vs att disaduantage, but in such order as wee were wee charged their great body. I hauinge the right winge, wee came vp horse to horse, where wee disputed itt with our swords and pistolls a pretty tyme, all keepinge close order, soe that one could not breake the other. Att last they a little shrinkinge, our men perceauinge itt pressed in vpon them, and immediately routed this whole body, some flyinge on one side, others on the other, of the enimies reserue, and our men persuinge them had chase and execution about 5. or 6. miles. I perceauinge this body, w^ch^ was the reserue, standinge still vnbroken, kept backe my maior Whaley from the chase, and with my owne troupe and one other of my regiment, in all beinge 3. troupes, wee gott into a body. In this reserue stood Generall Cavendish, whoe one while faced mee, another while faced 4. of the Lincolne troopes, w^ch^ were all of ours that stood vpon the place, the rest beinge ingaged in the chase. Att last the Generall charged the Linconers, and routed them. I immediately fell on his reere with my three troupes, w^ch^ did soe astonish him that hee gaue ouer the chase, and would fayne haue deliuered himselfe from mee, but I pressing onn forced them downe a hill, hauinge good execution of them, and belowe the hill droue the generall w^th^ some of his souldiers into a quagmier, where my Capt. Leiuetennant slew him with a thrust vnder his short ribbs.[a]

[a] The uncertainty of historical testimony is exemplified in the various versions of the death of Colonel, or, as Cromwell terms him, General, Cavendish. Cromwell says

The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man stayinge vpon the place. Wee then,[a] after this defeat, w^ch^ was soe totall, releiued the towne w^th^ such powder and prouisions as wee brought; w^ch^ donn, wee had notice that there were 6. troupes of horse and 300. foote on the other side of the towne, about a mile off vs. Wee desired some foote of my Lord Willoghby, about 400, and with our horse and theise foote marched towards them. When wee came towards the place where their horse stood, wee beate backe with my troupes about 2. or 3. troupes of the enimie, whoe retyred into a smale

above that he was driven into a quagmire, and there slain with a thrust under the short ribs. Another account of this affair (also signed by Cromwell) relates that one of Colonel Cromwell's men cut him on the head, by reason whereof he fell off his horse, and the Captain Lieutenant thrust him in the side, whereof within two hours he died. (Carlyle's Cromwell, iii. 470.) Another account, in Aubrey's Lives, ii. 276, says, that being out most dangerously in the head, he was struck off his horse, and so unfortunately shot with a brace of bullets after he was on the ground. Bishop Kennet, in his Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, (p. 95,) upon the authority of a Life of Colonel Cavendish's mother (Christian daughter of Lord Bruce of Kinloss), says, that the Colonel was "murther'd in cold blood, after quarter given," by Colonel Bury, who made himself dear to Cromwell by this and some other acts of cruelty. Lloyd, in his Memoirs (p. 673), relates that Colonel Cavendish, being governor of Gainsborough, "issued out to the relief of the surprised Earl of Kingston, he was overpowered, and, his horse sticking in the mud, he died magnanimously, refusing quarter, and throwing the blood that ran from his wounds in their faces that shed it, with a spirit as great as his blood." It can scarcely be doubted that Cromwell's letter, and the other account signed by him, contain the truth, and that the rest are mere inventions of party prejudice. However Colonel Cavendish met his death, he was evidently a young man (just 23 years of age) of great promise. A thirst for travel had led him far beyond the limits of the Grand Tour. Forsaking his companion and tutor, he strayed away to Babylon, which he reached by taking service in the Turkish army. On his return to England, the civil war was just commencing. He naturally espoused the side of the King his godfather, and did so with ardour. After serving at Edgehill, he raised a regiment of horse, with which he performed his brief services at Grantham and elsewhere. Aubrey quotes from a funeral sermon preached for Colonel Cavendish, in which the preacher states that, "when Cromwell heard that he [the Colonel] was slain, he cried out, "We have done our business!" (ii. 277.) Very likely. For a brief space Colonel Cavendish had been the Rupert of the eastern side of England. On his death, and that of Markham his Lieutenant-Colonel, who was killed shortly before him, the power which had frightfully punished Grantham, and had ridden triumphant throughout that country, was at an end.

[a] It is doubtful whether this word has not been struck out of the MS.

village att the bottom of the hill. When wee recouered the hill, wee sawe in the bottom, about a quarter of a mile from vs, a regiment of foote, after that another, after that Newcastles owne regiment, consistinge in all of about 50. foote colours, and a great body of horse, w^ch^ indeed was Newcastles armie, w^ch^ cominge soe vnexpectedlye putt vs to new consultations. My Lord Willoghby and I, beinge in the towne, agreed to call off our foote. I went to bringe them off; but before I returned diuerse of the foote were ingaged, the enimie aduancinge with his whole body. Our foote retraited in some disorder, and with some losse gott the towne, where now they are. Our horse alsoe came off with some trouble, beinge wearied w^th^ the longe fight, and their horses tyred; yett faced the enimies fresh horse, and by severall remoues got off without the losse of one man, the enimie followinge in the reere with a great body. The honor of this retrait is due to God, as alsoe all the rest. Maior Whaley did in this carry himselfe with all gallantrie becominge a gentleman and a Christian.

Thus haue you this true relation, as short as I could. What you are to doe vpon it is next to bee considered. [If I could speake words to peirce your harts, with the sence of our and your condition, I would. If you will raise 2000. foote att the present, to encounter this armie of Newcastles, to raise the seige, and to inable vs to fight him, wee doubt not by the grace of God but that wee shalbe able to releiue the towne and beate the enimie onn the other side Trent; whereas if somwhat bee not donn in this, you will see Newcastles armie march vp into your bowells, beinge now as it is on this side Trent. I know it wilbe difficult to raise thus many in soe short tyme, but lett mee assuer you its necessarie, and therfore to bee donn. Att least doe what you may, with all possible expedition. I would I had the happinesse to speake w^th^ one of you. Truly I cannot come ouer, but must attend my charge, our enimie is vigilant.] The Lord direct you what to doe. Gentlemen, I am

Your faythfull servant,

OLIUER CROMWELL.

July 31. 1643.
Huntington.

[Giue this gentleman credence. Hee is worthy to bee trusted. Hee knowes the vrgency of our affaires better then my selfe. If hee giue you intelligence in point of tyme of hast to bee made, beleiue him. Hee will aduise for your good.]

[Addressed]—To my noble friend's S^r^ Edmon Bacon, k^t^. & barronet, S^r^ Will'm Springe, knights and barronetts, S^r^ Thomas Bernardiston, kg^t^., Maurice Barrowe, esq., present theise.[a]

Readers acquainted with the admirable work of Mr. Carlyle will at once recollect that the facts here detailed have been published before. True; Mr. Carlyle published what is called this very letter, from Rushworth,[b] who probably obtained it from some contemporary newspaper. But Rushworth's authority was a mere castrated copy, put forth by authority at a time of great public danger, when nothing but what might be looked upon as in some degree good news was permitted to see the light. We have given the whole letter as it stands in the original, indicating the passages unknown to Rushworth and Carlyle by printing them within brackets.

The letter as it is now presented is one which does not attempt to disguise the danger of the position of affairs. It admits the

[a] The persons here addressed require a brief note. Sir Edmund Bacon of Redgrave was son of Sir Nicholas, the premier Baronet of England, and grandson of the Lord Keeper; nephew therefore by the half blood of Francis Bacon the Lord Chancellor. Sir William Spring of Pakenham was created a Baronet by King Charles I. 11th August, 1641. The baronetage is extinct, but the name is remembered in the family of Lord Monteagle of Brandon, who is descended from the Springs of Lavenham, the original stock of those of Pakenham. Sir Thomas Barnardiston, created a Baronet in 1663, was the eldest son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston of Ketton or Kedington in Suffolk, a person of great eminence, five times member for the county of Suffolk. Maurice Barrow was the only son of William Barrow, at one time of Huningham Hall, co. Norfolk, and afterwards of Westhorp in Suffolk.—(Blomefield, i. 684, ed. 1739, and Nichols's Topog. and Genealogist, ii. 167.)

[b] Rushworth's Collections, v. 278. Besides this letter, Carlyle has printed another letter descriptive of this Gainsborough fight, addressed to the Speaker by Cromwell and two of the Lincolnshire committee-men, in which the facts are detailed substantially in the same manner. (Appendix, No. IV. vol. iii. p. 470.)

urgency of the peril to the full. It warns the Committee that without the greatest exertion on their part, Newcastle's overpowering army would march up unimpeded into "the bowels" of that part of the country, for the defence of which they were responsible. In this state of public danger, the writer urges them, in language the seriousness and power of which every one will acknowledge, to do what they may with all possible expedition. He appeals to past successes as God's encouragements, as if He should say, "Up and be doing! and I will help you and stand by you," and assures them that if he could speak words to pierce their hearts with the sense of their condition he would do so. Not a word of this forcible and characteristic appeal appears in Rushworth.

Dr. Dibdin, who formerly saw this letter in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner, quoted a portion of the opening sentence in his *Ædes Althorpianæ*, p. lx., which, being totally unlike anything in the letter as found in Rushworth, led to the conclusion that there were in existence two separate letters written by Cromwell alone, as well as the one written in conjunction with others, all descriptive of Gainsborough fight. The letter as now published shows merely that, in printing this letter, Rushworth or Rushworth's authority omitted what was really the most characteristic portion.

III.

Letter III. is from the great naval hero Robert Blake. In 1653 the victories over the Dutch had raised the glory of the country to a height scarcely ever attained again until the days of Trafalgar. Whilst the statesmen of the Commonwealth were settling the terms of the peace which Blake and his companions had won, he himself, wounded and out of health, recruited his strength in the repose of a modest residence situate near his native town of Bridgewater.[a] But the government of the day was not one which could long allow him to be unoccupied: there were other wrongs to be

[a] Dixon's Life of Blake, p. 266.

redressed, other enemies to be chastised. Two strong fleets were equipped. One was sent to the West Indies under the command of Penn and Venables. Another, destined to act nearer home, but the precise objects of which were kept secret, was entrusted to Blake. The following letter was written by him from aboard his ship the St. George, or the George, as it was then termed, lying at the Nore, and there taking in victuals. His lieutenant had returned some defective stores, but had omitted to send notice to the Commissioners of the Navy. The fault was officially a very grave one, and advantage was taken of it by a Mr. Bignall, perhaps an officer of the victualler, who complained to the Commissioners. Blake states the facts, and admits the blameworthiness of the lieutenant, with all a sailor's candour. He then turns round upon the informer, and shows that the balance of misconduct is rather against him than against the lieutenant.

ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received yours of the 25 inst., in which you write that Mr. Bignall hath informd you of a hoy sent vp with victuals returnd from the George, without any notice thereof geven to you. I find vpon examinacion that there hath bin sent vp by the lieftenant five hogsheads and a barrell of beefe, one barrell of porke, and 17 bags of bisket, which vpon survey was found defective and vnserviceable; but the lieftenant I confes was to blame for not sending you an account thereof; yet I am glad that Mr. Bignall hath geuen you this informacion, because possibly it may bring somewhat else to light, and I beleeve, had I not ben very strict in requiring of his mate an account of what victuals was actually on bord the ship, this informacion would have bin forborne, for Mr. Bignall coming abord on Saturday last in the afternoone, and hauing vnderstood of my strict inquisition [into?][a] the state of the victuals, did the same night

[a] The word is worn away.

returne, without geuing me or the captain any notice of his going; and in truth, it is, and hath bin, a vsuall thing with him to be absent from his charge, and his great care now is, to my knowledge, to get a deputacion that he may not go to sea. I haue somewhat else to say when we meet, which I hope will be very shortly. In the meane time I desire you, if it be not done already, to hasten downe the remainder of the proporcion of victuals according to the note which I presume Mr. Hempson hath shewne to you. There is left in the Hope the Pr. Marie to receive it in, if it come in time. And I am perswaded the best way to prevent such inconvenients for the future will be a severe examination of such as Mr. Bignall, of whome I haue had some former experience. I shall take the best care that may be here; which is all at prcsent from

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

ROB: BLAKE.

Abord the George, off the Boye of the Noure, 27 Jul. '54.

[Addressed] For the Right Worshipfull the Commissioners for the Navy sitting at Tower Hill, London.

IV.

LETTER IV. is from one who learned the art of silence as well as that of maritime warfare in the school of Blake, and who lived to turn the former to account—GEORGE MONK, the future Duke of Albemarle. From the pleasant house of Dalkeith he had now for several years governed Scotland with firmness, and without much open dissatisfaction. His leaning to the exiled sovereign was universally suspected. Even Cromwell, to whom Monk was sincerely attached, did not hesitate to write jokingly to him on the subject. Monk treated the suspicion with affected candour and some show of indignation, and continued to report from time to time to the authorities in England so much of the information respecting " Charles

Stuart" which came to his knowledge as he thought it prudent to communicate. Persevering in this quiet steady policy, he fixed himself in the affections of his soldiery, whom he kept with great care in a state of the highest military efficiency.

When Oliver Cromwell died, Monk attended personally at the proclamation in Edinburgh of Richard, but both army and people received the announcement coldly, and among them were not a few who did not hesitate to declare that "old George" would be a far better Protector than "Dick Cromwell."

When the second protectorate fell to the ground, Monk looked on in silence. He pretended not to see what was passing at Westminster. It was not until the republican party began openly to divide, and the army in England to interfere with the civil government, that Monk seemed to awake. The old royalists, full of feverish anxiety, were always on the move, but their movements were mere spontaneous and ill-considered ebullitions of feeling, which ended only in disaster. Monk's proceedings were characteristically cautious and deliberate. At the date of the following letter there were three distinct series of operations going on at the same moment. The Royalists in the North of England were preparing for their fatal rising under Sir George Booth; the English army and the mutilated fragment of the Parliament were rapidly approaching to an avowed contest; whilst Monk, as will appear from the following letter, was blinding the two parties who were disputing at Westminster by sending them intelligence of "Charles Stuart's very great design," with which they were far better acquainted than he was; and at the same time, as if altogether immersed in the business of his government, was soliciting them to adopt measures to enable him to quiet the people of Scotland—measures which it was scarcely possible for them even to think of during a period of such extreme uncertainty and confusion.

Such is the state of affairs opened before us in the following

letter. A glance at what was going on during the same month at the court of Charles II. will complete the picture.

Among all the adherents of Charles II. no one did so much to promote the Restoration as Sir John Grenville, son of the royalist hero who died on Lansdown above Bath. Sir John and General Monk were cousins, and there was an intimacy between Sir John and Nicholas Monk, a brother of the general, and a clergyman. The living of Kilkhampton, in Devonshire, in which parish stood the seat of the Grenvilles, chanced to fall vacant in 1658. Sir John, who had the right of presentation, gave the living, which was of some value, to Nicholas Monk, and in the course of interviews on that occasion the patron and incumbent came to an understanding respecting their political hopes and feelings. Twelve months afterwards Sir John heard that Nicholas Monk was about to proceed into Scotland to visit his brother. A daughter of Nicholas had been staying at Dalkeith, with her uncle the general. A proposal of marriage for the young lady had been made to her father, and he was about to take a journey into the North to communicate the offer, and to confer thereon with the general. Sir John Grenville seized upon this circumstance as affording an opportunity to bring about a confidential communication between Charles II. and the general. He wrote upon the subject to Hyde, then with the King at Brussels. Ever ready to take advantage of any opening, Hyde forwarded to Sir John Grenville two autograph letters from the King, one addressed to Sir John and the other to General Monk. In the former the King authorised Grenville to offer Monk such an estate in land, and such a title of honour, as himself should desire, with such rewards (to the extent, it is said, of 100,000*l.* per annum for ever,) to his officers as he should think fit to promise them. In the other letter the King offered to leave the way and manner of the restoration entirely to Monk's judgment, and agreed to comply with any advice he might give. These

letters were dated on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}$ of the same month in which the following letter is dated. Nicholas Monk was asked to convey them to his brother. He started aside aghast at the danger of having such papers in his possession. But he committed them to memory, and on his arrival at Dalkeith communicated their contents to his brother. From the momcnt Monk's own selfish interests were secure, the Restoration may be said to have been accomplished; all that followed was the mere playing out a game of which the end was predetermined. These were among the events of July 1659.

GENERAL GEORGE MONK TO LORD WARRISTON, LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL.[a]

My Lord,

I received your Lordshippes of the 28th of June, and make bold to acquaint you, that I heare that Charles Stuart hath laid a very great designe both in England and Ireland, but as yett I heare of nothing that hee hath written over to this country concerning that businesse. I am confident if hee had I should have heard of itt; butt I could wish that for the setling of the mindes of this nation, there were at present soe much power given to some Judges vppon the place heere for the carrying on of the businesse of the civill Courts of Justice, as they vsed to have in the intervalls of Sessions, and likewise the Act of Union, and pardon and grace, and that the Articles that were given by my self vppon the setling of this country vppon the last rebellion may bee confirmd, which would bee a meanes to settle the mindes of this people very much, and truly, soe they had butt justice open, and these thinges assured to them, I doe beleive they would bee generallie well satisfied with the gøvernement, butt till this bee done their mindes are in a distracted condition. I thought fitt to acquaint you with this, that you may bee

[a] Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Lord of Session in Scotland, and one of Oliver Cromwell's peers. Burnet, who was his nephew, gives his character and many particulars of his sad history. (Own Times, i. 48, 350, ed. 1823.)

pleased to putt these businesses on with as much expedition as may bee ; which is all att present from

Your Lordshippes very
humble servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith, 5° July, 1659.
Lord Wareston.

[Addressed]—For the right honourable the Lord Wareston, Lord President of the Councill of State, att Whitehall.

[Seal.] A chevron between three lion's heads erased.

V.

LETTER V., from CHARLES II. to the Earl of Lauderdale, conveys to the Earl his Majesty's full approval of his conduct in the management of a parliament in Scotland, and especially in relation to the project of a union between the two countries—one of the few measures in the reign of this sovereign, of which every one will now approve. But it was not favourably regarded at the time it was proposed. Jealousies innumerable interfered with its progress towards completion. "An act was passed for a treaty about it, and, in the following summer, in a subsequent session, commissioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progress; and the thing fell so soon, that it was very visible it was never intended in earnest." (Burnet's Own Times, i. 492, ed. 1823.)

Only two persons besides the King are brought before us in this letter; the Royal Commissioner Lauderdale and "Robin Moray." Both live in Burnet's pages in such curious contrast that we cannot but quote what he says of them. Of the former, the Bishop remarks, "I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: he was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him: his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all

that he talked to, and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern; so that he had great materials, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him; that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind; he was to be let alone, and perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first seemed to despise wealth; but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into a vast expense and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment [a] he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but he wore them out so entirely that searce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against popery and arbitrary government; and yet, by a fatal train of passions and interests, he was for the former, and had almost established the latter. And whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the

[a] [During the Commonwealth.]

fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition than the legality of justice. With all this he was a Presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to his death." (Own Times, i. 173.)

To this frightful character, that of Sir Robert Murray stands in striking opposition; in writing it, at any event at the commencement, the Bishop seems to have had in view Clarendon's character of William Earl of Pembroke. "He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my own life. He was a pious man, and in the midst of armies and courts he spent many hours a day in devotion, which was in a most elevating strain. He had gone through the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peireski as he is described by Gassendi. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal Society, and its first president; and while he lived he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoic I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles, for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men; and had the plainest but with all the softest way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults, that I ever met with." (Own Times, i. 101.)

KING CHARLES II. TO THE EARL, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

Whithall, 2 Nouember 1669.

Though Robin Moray has by my derections answerd your letters, and tould you how well I am satisfied with your proceedings in Scotland, yett I cannot forbeare the repeating it to you my selfe, and

withall to tell you the true sence I have of your industry and dexterity in the whole proceedings. I shall not say any thing particularly now concerning the vnion, because Robin has at large tould you my thoughts in order to what is to be done on your parts, which I thinke you will aprooue of when you consider the length of our Parlament deliberations heere, and how inconvenient a long sessions there would be in all respects. I shall say no more to you now but to assure you of my kindnesse and constant frindship.

C. R.

[Addressed]—For my Lord Commissioner.

[Seal.]—A lozenge-shaped seal, bearing, on a shield, under a crown, quarterly, 1. and 4. France and England; 2. Scotland; 3. Ireland. The shield had the letter C. on one side and R. on the other, but in the present case the seal has not been so placed on the wax as to give an impression of the C.

[Indorsed]—From King Charles the 2d to y^e^ Duke of Lauderdale, 1669.

A list of the commissioners alluded to by Burnet as having gone up to London "to treat about it" is an apt illustration of the preceding letter.

VI.

LIST OF COMMISSIONERS NOMINATED BY KING CHARLES II. TO TREAT ABOUT THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

CHARLES R.

The nams of the tuentie-fyue comissioners nominated by his Ma^tie^ for the kingdome of Scottland to the treatie of wnione.

The Commissioner.
The Archbishop of St. Andrews.
The L^d^ Chanclour.

The L^{d} Privie Seal.
The E. of Athole.
The Earle of Home.
The E. of Dumfermling.
The E. of Lothiane.
The E. of Tueeddale.
The E. of Kincardine.
Bishope of Dumblain.
Bishope of Galloway.
L^{d} Register.
L^{d} Adwocat.
L^{d} Hattone.
L^{d} Stairs.
Lord Newbyth.
Mr. William Arskine.
S^{r} Rob. Morray.
S^{r} Archbald Morray of Blakbaronie.
S^{r} Robert Synclair.
S^{r} Alex. Frasser.
S^{r} William Bruc.
S^{r} Andrew Ramsay.
S^{r} Patrik Morray.

The list as originally prepared comprised the names of "S^{r} Georg Lokart," "S^{r} Francis Scott," and "S^{r} Jhone Harper." These names were struck out, and those of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Home, aud Lord Newbyth were inserted in their stead. Galloway was also inserted as the title of the Bishop after "Dumblain," which was left blank in the original.

VII.

Letter VII. is one of the most curious of this valuable selection. From the business we pass at once into the midst of what was

esteemed "the pleasure" of the reign of Charles II. Nell Gwynne, it is well known, could not write. Receipts have been found among the Exchequer Documents signed with her rudely formed initials, E. G., but only one letter authenticated in that manner has hitherto been published. That letter is printed in Cunningham's amusing Story of Nell Gwynne, p. 151, and is singularly like the present one in style, although from Cunningham's description it is peculiarly unlike it in character of handwriting. It may therefore be inferred that both were dictated by the lady herself.

The date of the letter now published may be approached with certainty. The writer mentions her eldest son, Lord Burford, who was created a peer by that title in 1676 (Courthope, p. 83); again, she mentions her youngest son, Lord Beauclerk, as being about to go into France. Lord Beauclerk died in Paris in 1680 (Cunningham, p. 150.) The date therefore lies between 1676 and 1680. Again she says, "We don't know whether we shall have peace or war." There was no question of peace or war during the reign of Charles II. after the treaty of Nimiguen, which was ratified on the 8th August 1678. The probability seems to be that this letter was written in the June of that year.

Of the letter itself it is not too much to say that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more singularly characteristic, both in style and contents. As to the former, it possesses the qualities which in all probability distinguished the conversation of Nell Gwynne herself—"the indiscreetest and wildest creature that ever was in a court."[a] It is lively, emphatic, free-spoken, hearty, clever, and vulgar. It relates to a host of the *roués* and loose fish of the Court of Charles II. In the midst of this disreputable group appears the King. Nothing that has ever been published is calculated to produce a livelier impression of the state of the Court of Charles II., than this most singular effusion.

[a] Burnet's Own Times, i. 457, ed. 1823.

NELL GWYNNE TO MR. HYDE.

pray Deare Mr. Hide[a] forgive me for not writeing to you before now for the reasone is I have bin sick thre months & sinse I recoverd I have had nothing to intertaine you withall nor have nothing now worth writing but that I can holde no longer to let you know I never have ben in any companie wethout drinking your health for I loue you with all my soule. the pel mel is now to me a dismale plase sinse I have uterly lost S[r] Car Scrope[b] never to be recourd agane for he tould me he could not live allwayes at this rate & so begune to be a littel uncivil, which I could not sufer from an uglye *baux garscon*. M[s] Knights[c] Lady mothers dead & she has put up a scutchin no beiger then my Lady grins scunchis.[d] My lord Rochester[e] is gon in the cuntrei. M[r] Savil[f] has got a misfortune, but is upon recovery & is to mary an hairres, who I thinke wont wont [*sic*] have an ill time ont if he holds up his thumb. My lord of

[a] Mr. Hide is conjectured to have been the handsome Lory or Lawrence Hyde, second son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, created Earl of Rochester in 1682. In May and June 1678 he was at the Hague on diplomatic business. (Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester, i. 16, 20.)

[b] Sir Carr Scrope was created a Baronet 1667-8, and died unmarried in 1680. He was one of the witty companions of Charles II., and author of various poetical effusions, to be found in Dryden's Miscellanies. Johnson notices him in his life of Rochester.

[c] Mrs. Knight, a singer of great celebrity, and a rival to Nell Gwynne in the tender regard of Charles II. She is mentioned by both Evelyn and Pepys, although the latter had not heard her sing up to the period at which his diary closes. The name of her Lady-mother has not been found.

[d] Probably the writer misplaced the *n* in this word, writing *scunchis* for *scuchins*. We have not been able to identify Lady Green.

[e] John Wilmot, the poetical Earl of Rochester, who, as Johnson remarked, "blazed out his youth and his health in lavish voluptuousness," and with "avowed contempt of all decency and order." The history of the contrast presented by the close of his life is a well-known book by Bishop Burnet. He died on the 26th July 1680, at the age of 34.

[f] The gentleman who could govern by rule of thumb was Henry Savile, the future Vice-Chamberlain, for whom see the Savile Correspondence, edited by Mr. W. D. Cooper for the Camden Society in 1858. The projected marriage did not come off.

Dorscit[a] apiers wonse in thre munths, for he drinkes aile with Shadwell[b] & Mr Haris[c] at the Dukes house all day long. my Lord Burford[d] remimbers his sarvis to you. my Lord Bauclaire[e] is is [*sic*] goeing into france. we are a goeing to supe with the king at whithall & my lady Harvie.[f] the King remembers his sarvis to you. now lets talke of state affairs, for we never caried things so cunningly as

[a] The Earl of Dorset was one of the wildest of the mad companions of the merry monarch. His doings are written at large in all the scandalous chronicles of that period. Nell Gwynne was living with him as his mistress when the King took a fancy to her, and the terms of the bargain and sale by which she was transferred to the sovereign may be read in Cunningham, p. 68. Dorset or Buckhurst, for the latter was his title whilst Nell Gwynne lived with him, is more creditably known by his song "To all you ladies now at land," and by his conduct at the close of the reign of James II. His life is included among Johnson's Lives of the Poets.

[b] Thomas Shadwell the poet, who owed to the influence of the Earl of Dorset his appointment as laureate on the ejection of Dryden at the Revolution of 1688. However mean his poetry, his conversation is said to have been highly witty and amusing. From his companionship with Rochester and Dorset, it is not to be wondered at that it was also often indecent and profane.

[c] Joseph Harris, the celebrated actor, who drew sword for King Charles I. at Edgehill, and lived to delight the town, after the Restoration, with his Othello, Alexander, Brutus, and Catiline. Pepys describes him as a man of most attractive qualities. "I do find him a very excellent person, such as in my whole acquaintance I do not know another better qualified for converse, whether in things of his own trade or of other kind ; a man of great understanding and observation, and very agreeable in the manner of his discourse, and civil as far as is possible. I was mightily pleased with his company." Lord Braybrooke stated in a note to Pepys (ii. 196) that Harris probably died or left the stage about 1676. The present letter postpones that date for a year or two, and Dr. Doran in his most amusing treasury of information respecting the drama (Their Majesties Servants, vol. i. p. 63), dates his retirement from the stage in 1682, and his interment at Stanmore Magna in 1683.

[d] Lord Burford, as we have already noticed, was the elder of Nell Gwynne's two children by the King. He was born 8th May 1670, created Lord Burford on the 27th December 1676, and Duke of St. Alban's on the 10th Jan. 1683-4.

[e] Lord Beauclerk, Nell Gwynne's younger son, was born 25th December 1671, and died, as we have before remarked, at Paris, in September 1680.

[f] Lady Harvey was Elizabeth, sister of Ralph third Lord Montagu of Boughton, afterwards Earl and Duke of Manchester. Elizabeth married Sir Daniel Harvey, a conspicuous person at that time; as ranger of Richmond Park he gave shelter in his house to Lady Castlemaine during her quarrels with Charles II. Her ladyship, according to Pepys, rewarded Lady Harvey by encouraging "Doll Common," or Mrs. Cory, who was the

now for we dont know whether we shall have pesce or war, but I am for war and for no other reason but that you may come home. I have a thousand merry conseets, but I cant make her write um & therfore you must take the will for the deed. god bye. your most loueing obedunt faithfull & humbel

sarvant

E. G.

*** On the suggestion of several Members of the Council of the Camden Society, and from a persuasion that it is advisable to trace the possession of valuable manuscripts, and to record the prices paid for them at sales, Mr. Tite permits us to add the following particulars respecting his acquisition of all these letters, except that of Charles I., the time and manner of the purchase of which have been forgotten.

That of Cromwell came out of the collection of Mr. Dawson Turner, sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, in June 1859, lot 588. It was purchased at £ 47 5*s.*

That of Blake was bought from a private collection sold at Messrs. Sotheby's, lot 80, August 2, 1851, and cost £ 2 12*s.* 6*d.*

That of Monk was purchased out of Mr. John Wilson Croker's collection, sold by Messrs. Sotheby in May 1859, lot 123, £ 4.

That of Charles II., with the illustrative paper, were lots 154 and 155 in a sale at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's, on the 16th of July, 1859, and were purchased at £ 6 19*s.* 6*d.*

Finally, the letter of Nell Gwynne was purchased at Mr. Singer's sale by Messrs. Sotheby, on the 3rd August, 1858. It was lot 80, and produced £ 3 12*s.*

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distinguished representative of that character, to mimic Lady Harvey on the stage, in the character of Sempronia. Lady Harvey "provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her," and, that being unsuccessful, procured the Lord Chamberlain to imprison her. Lady Castlemaine "made the King to release her," and a great disturbance was excited both in the theatre and at court. In the mean time Sir Daniel Harvey was sent away ambassador to Constantinople.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S

MEMORABLE

SERVICE DONE AGAINST THE SPANIARDS

IN 1587.

WRITTEN BY ROBERT LENG, GENTLEMAN,

ONE OF HIS CO-ADVENTURERS AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS.

NOW FIRST EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

TOGETHER WITH AN APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIVE PAPERS,

BY CLARENCE HOPPER.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

M.DCCC.LXIII.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the expeditions undertaken by Sir Francis Drake that of 1587—when he was reluctantly dispatched by his perplexed sovereign to Spain, to curb the gigantic preparations of Philip the Second for the invasion of this country—must be acknowledged as the most happy in its conceptions, and the most brilliant in its results.

In less than two months from the time of his departure from Plymouth, the intrepid admiral completely swept from the coasts of Gallicia, Portugal, and Andalusia every description of craft, from the formidable galley to the humble trawl, bearing the flag of, or politically connected with, the dynasty of Spain.

Drake's achievements in that brief space of time are absolutely unparalleled in the annals of naval warfare. In his rapid progress he annihilated the tunny fishery, upon the annual success of which the Spanish nation almost exclusively depended during Lent and other seasons of abstinence. To a devoted Catholic nation such a loss, in that age, was a serious if not irreparable calamity. In the harbour of Cadiz he destroyed ten thousand tons of shipping, besides warlike stores and provisions of incalculable value, which had been laboriously gathered from the widely-spread dominions of Philip, and from other countries in alliance with the crown of Spain, to furnish supplies for the renowned, and so-called "Invincible," Armada.

The signal discomfiture and loss inflicted upon the Spaniards

necessitated a postponement of their long-meditated invasion of our shores; whilst England, by the activity, courage, and skill of Drake, gained an additional twelvemonth for making preparation to resist her formidable and implacable foes; but that which was of infinitely greater importance, her gallant sea-captain had fairly tested the vaunted superiority of the large Spanish galleys, and taught his followers to despise them. In a few hours he demonstrated their unfitness to cope with the lighter vessels of Britain. Such a lesson was not lost upon his countrymen in the following year, when Drake saw the fulfilment of his boast, that four of the Queen's ships were more than a match for the new-fangled and unwieldy argosies of Spain.

This terrible visitation on the coasts of the Spanish monarch Drake, who appears to have been as witty as he was bold, was wont jocosely to term "*the singeing of King Philip's beard.*"

From Cadiz Sir Francis directed his course towards the Azores, where his customary good fortune attended him. Off the island of Terceira he fell in with and captured a stupendous and richly-laden carrack, returning from a lengthened voyage to the East Indies. As well from the commodities as from the journal, charts, and other papers and documents found on board that prize, our merchants learned for the first time the immense commercial resources of the East. It was, in fact, the capture of this magnificent vessel that suggested the first idea of establishing the East India Company. The name of Drake, although he did not live to see the company incorporated by royal charter, is thus identified with the most superb acquisition of the British crown.

Successful and brilliant as were the results of this memorable expedition, it is very remarkable that *fewer details* of it are generally known than of any other in which Drake had a share. With the

exception of the brief account in Hakluyt, and a briefer one contained in a contemporary tract preserved in the Grenville Library, and asserted to be unique, entitled "*Newes out of the Coasts of Spain.*" 4° *Lond.*, 1587, (which no doubt was written by Captain Thomas Fenner, vice-admiral in succession to Captain Burrough,) *nothing further with respect to this expedition has been published.*

As the present relation contains the fullest particulars, both with respect to the attack upon the previously conceived impregnable harbour of Cadiz, and the fortunate seizure of the treasure-laden San Philippe, it necessarily constitutes an equally important and interesting addition to our naval history.

Of Robert Leng, the author of the following pages, nothing whatever is known.

It is not improbable that he was one of the volunteer soldiers to whom Drake makes allusion in his letter to the Council under date of March 3, 1587: "There are here at this presente [in Plymouth] a great nomber of goode and serviceable soldyers, which voluntarilie have resorted hither to serve in this action, as this bearer, Captaine Marchaunte, who hath seene the trayninge of them, can geive your Lordships to understande." (Add. MS. 9294, fol. 136.) And again in his letter to Walsingham of the 2nd of April following: "If your honor did now se the flett under sayell, and knew with what resollucyon men's mynds dow enter into this accyon, as your honor would rejoyce to se them, so ye would judge a small force would not devyd them. I asure your honor, uppon my credytt, ther are many suffycyent men in this accyon, yeat there hath dyvers start from us within this tow dayes past, and we all thinck by some practys of some adversaryes to the accyon, by letters written; they are most *maryners*; we have *soldyers* in their place." (Dom. Corresp. S. P. O.)

In spite of these cowardly desertions, there were many stout and

valiant hearts left behind, to accompany the naval hero to the scene of his successes, amongst whom we may number the penman of this narrative.

Seaman, soldier, or gentleman-adventurer, allured to sea by the brilliant reputation of Drake, this was manifestly his primary voyage. His plain, straightforward, and sailor-like story, which differs in no essential particular from what is known of the expedition, is a guarantee for his accuracy and faithfulness. He fills in a picture of which before we possessed only the bare outline.

Unpretending, whether in his capacity of soldier or writer, he reminds the reader that he is "wanting in both learning and skill in arms;" nevertheless a history such as this, coming to us fresh from the pen of one of the devoted followers of Drake, can scarcely fail, from its terseness and simplicity, to be attractive to most readers.

Leng's unbounded admiration of his commander is an additional proof (were it needed) of the singular estimation in which that greatest of sea-captains was held by his men, and the entire narrative tends (indirectly at least) to show how unjust were the prejudices which the peace-party in the divided Court of Elizabeth, at the most critical juncture in her reign, entertained against him.

Drake, by virtue of a commission, was no sooner despatched upon his errand, than (with the vacillating policy of the Queen's advisers) a missive was hastened after him, urging a more moderate routine of hostilities, and doubtless considerably qualifying the previous instructions.

Sir James Croft, the Comptroller of the Royal Household, than whom no one entertained a stronger prejudice or exhibited more determined animosity against Drake for his audacious proceedings in the Indies, fearing a repetition of his conduct upon the Spanis coast, which would inevitably destroy all hope of effecting a treaty

of peace, actually carried his opposition so far as to publicly accuse the Admiral of defrauding her Majesty of treasure, in jewels and bullion, to an almost fabulous amount, and corrupting with his ill-gotten spoils not a few officers in her navy. It is scarcely necessary to add that this desperate scheme of the Comptroller for preventing the sailing of Drake, even for an hour, utterly failed. No credence whatever was attached to his extraordinary accusation; it passed unheeded alike by the Council and the public.

To have traced this original commission and instructions under the Queen's hand would have been important, as manifesting the full extent of authority committed to the commander of the expedition; but unfortunately research has been without avail to discover any record of the same, none appearing to exist other than the date quoted in the "Agreement with the Merchant Adventurers," and a kind of abstract to be found in a letter from Burroughs to Drake dated 30 April, 1587, in these words: "As I take it, the substaunce of the scope that is given you [Drake] is this, for that by information the kinge of Spaine is preparinge a greate armie by sea, parte at Lisbone and other in Andolozia, and within the streightes, all which was judged should meete at Lisbone, and the same to come for England or some parte of her Ma^tes^ domynions, her Ma^tes^ pleaseur is by advise of her highnes counsaile that you, with these shippes now under your charge, should come hether to this cape and uppon this coaste, and seeke by all the best meanes you can to impeache there purpose and stoppe theare meetinge at Lisbone (if it might be), whereof the manner how is referred to your discression. This is the effect of your instruccions as I remember, &c. * * * I doe not finde by your instruccions any advice to lande, but I remember a speciall caviatt and advice given you to the contrarie by the Lord Highe Admirall."

The despatch sent after the captain of the fleet, advocating a milder and more temperate course of action, never reached him: adverse winds enforced the messenger to come home, and the government, unable to punish the humble bearer of their letters, in its eagerness to appease foreign policy, threw the entire odium of the matter upon Drake, avowing its intention, on his return, to call him to account for that which, in its own estimation, was little else than an act of daring and unauthorised piracy.

The Editor has been fortunate enough to discover, not only the bill of lading of the San Philippe, but also various statements of the actual amount of treasure which Drake and his companions brought home with them in the summer of 1587, together with some few other unpublished papers bearing upon the same expedition. Two letters, moreover, from Sir Francis himself, affording his own description of the attack, the which are already in print (but in tracts so rare and curious that it may well excuse their re-production), must not pass unnoticed. These he has thrown into an Appendix, as illustrative of the text; and trusts that they will be considered useful and interesting adjuncts to the modest and unvarnished narration of Robert Leng.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Denmark Road, Camberwell,
September 1, 1862.

Anno Domini 1587. *Annoque Regni Regine Elizabethe xxix°.*

The true Discripcion of the last voiage of that worthy Captayne, Sir Frauncis Drake, knight, with his service done against the Spanyardes; collected by Roberte Leng, gentleman, one of the said voiage.

ALTIOR FORTUNA VIRTUS.

To the Right Honorable Arthur,
Lord Grey of Wilton, and
Knight of the most honorable
Order of the Garter, Roberte
Leng wysheth increase
of honor and all
happynes.

Consyderinge, (Right honorable,) that the loue of our country serves for a touchstone to trye the pretious nature of true nobilitye, whome truth hath puryfied in her burninge fornace ; I was incyted by the zeale I beare you to present yow with theise fewe crookeed lynes, the pythe whereof discribes the true voiage of that worthy knight, Sir Frauncis Drake, in whose company my self, being one of the least yett in affeccion agreable to the best, earnestly desyerd to patronage this copye under your honors proteccion ; knowing that wysdom wynckes att small faultes, where the foolyshe make all faultes. Thus, hopeinge of your favorable acceptaunce, I comytt your honor's happy enterpryces to the guidinge of the Allmightye.

Your honor's to comaunde,

Robert Leng.

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.

[*Hor. Epist.* lib. i. Epist. ii. 69.]

TO THE READER.

It is imagined by the Poetes, gentle reader, that Minarva the goddesse of Learninge was paynted with a speare and a shelde, thereby intendinge that, as she favored learninge, soe she guided the course of warr. Off whome althoughe my selfe am not worthye to be protected, (being soe sacred and syncere a goddesse,) wantinge both learninge and skyll in armes : yett herein am I boldened, by the courtesye of your favors, to shadowe my accions, and the full effect of theise my enterprices under your frendly judgementes; which I hope you will not misinterprett, consyderinge yt contayneth the excellent prowesse of soe martiall a man, whose worthye actes may commende him for pollycye a seconde Vlisses, for martiall affayres an other Hector, and for profitable goverment a new Licurgus: which shyninge vertues (to illustrate soe blessed a comon welth,) may neyther by right be obscured nor hindred to sett fourth the comfortable brightnes thereof. Theise causes, friendly reader, (rather then my owne devyse,) make me presume to present unto your discretions this true discourse, warranted with the sayinge of that mirror Alexander, who lyked the rude poemes of wytlesse Cherillus because they contayne the happynes of Homer.

Your lovinge frend,

Ro: Leng.

THE PREFACE.

WHEREAS yt hath bene th'order of all antiant orators, in the behalfe of the honor and credytt of every of there severall provinces and countryes, to regester, imbooke, or incronicle all such worthye persons, both for prowesse and pollycye, as by there valyant actes have deserved perpetuall remembraunce of there worthynes : soe I have thought good (thoughe farr inferior in learninge or eloquence to any of theise learned orators, yett not behynd them in good will), to sett fourth in particularytyes the most noble actes and attemptes of our valyant and fortunate Champyon, Sir Frauncis Drake, knight. The which he hath done of late with his courragious company to his and there great honor, the comodytye and credytt of there countrye; the lyke never in any age done by any subject, which, to them that have not sene them or bene att the doeinge thereof, might seame most incledible or att the least most invincible: and which were great obsurdytye for us his frendes and countrymen to drowne in the syncke of oblivion, whereby our poster[it]ye shoulde condem, eyther our ignoraunce in disablynge us, or our folly in not discribinge the worthynes of his magnanimtye, for th'incouragement and credytt of them and country hereafter. My selfe, amongst the least, being loth that soe valiant a man shoulde be forgotten, havinge bene in this his last voiage and sene his worthynes therein, have boldely taken upon me (thoughe unlearned) to sett downe in this my booke his particuler and most valyant actes and exploites, as truly as my remembraunce will geve me leave: more respectinge to have his name to be had in famous remembraunce, then eyther comendacions to my selfe (which my desertes cannot obtayne,) or the feare of the envious reporte of the malitious, who had rather have all men deade men, lyke them selves, then that they shoulde lyve in future

remembraunce of our posterytye; th'effect whereof as breeffly as I can gather hereafter followeth.

On the fyrst day of Aprill, beinge Satterday, our Generall, Sir Frauncis Drake, havinge stayed att Plymouth 8 dayes fully to furnishe his flete; the next day followinge, beinge Sonday, and the seconnde day of the same mounth, we all put out to sea, in number 25 sayle: videlicet, the Elizabeth-Bonaventor, admirall; the Golden Lyon, vize-admirall; the Dreade-naughte, reare admirall; and the Raynebowe: theise 4 the Queen Majesties shipps, the rest beinge marchaunt shipps and pynnisses. And soe, kepinge our course towardes Portugall, on Monday the 3. day in the forenone, (havinge a faire wynde,) we had in chasse two sayles, who in shorte space we brought under our lee; who, being 2 men of war of Lyme, our generall comaunded them to attende his flete for better assystaunce in his voiage, to whose courteous comaundement they willingly obayed; and on Wednesday next, the 5. of the same mounth, we discried the lande of Galizia, and costinge towardes the North Cape within 2 dayes followinge we were dryven by extremitye of wether to sea, where for the space of 7 dayes in a tempest we were tossed, in which saide tempest we lost a lytle pynnisse called the Martigo, and all our flete severally disperced; but, (God be thanked!) by the carefull advice and comaundement of our Generall, within one day and a night after we were all gathered together againe. And kepeinge our course towards the South Cape, on the 17. day of Aprill, we sayled by yt: dyverse of our small barkes and pynnisses shoreinge in, and chasseinge within there bayes there small barkes and carvells, and where we tooke one; and so from thence we bore on to the Estwardes, and on Wednesday in th'afternone, the 19. of the same mounth, we arryved within the rode att Cales, whcre we founde a great flete of shippes rydeing. Soe sone as we were discried, 2 of there gallyes made towardes us, and, judging what we were, they made haste into shore againe, not offeringe to shoote one shott att us; yett, before they coulde retorne, our Admirall with

others of our flette shott them thorowe, and slew ten of there men: presently there came fourth from the towne ten other gallyes, and foughte with us, but we applyed them soe well with our great ordenaunce, that two of them were fayne to be hayled up that night. In the meane tyme the marchaunt ryall and the rest of the marchaunte shipps, our flete, made staye of dyverse of there shipps, which had cutt there cables, and hoiste there sayles, to have gotten over to Porte Ryall, St. Mary Porte, and to other harbors nighe there unto. Some escaped, but most of them were stayed, whome when we boorded, moste of there men leaped into the rode and swym to shore. The same night our generall, havinge, by Godes good favor and sufference, good opportunitye to ponishe the enemye of Godes true Gospell and our dayly adversarye, and further willinge to discharge his expected dutye towardes God, his prynce, and country, begun to synck and fyer dyverse of there shipps. Amongst which there was one argocye sunck, (sore against all our wills,) which had in her as yt was reported 36 brasse peces.

The next day the Gallyes made dyvers bravadoies upon us; the towne and other there fortes also played upon us all the day longe, but did us lytle hurte; savinge that the master gunner of the Golden Lyon had his legg broke with a shott from the towne. The same day and nyght following our generall (to performe and fynishe his good service, and knowing there noe place of stay,) begun to burne afreshe, amongst which there was one shipp of the Marques de S^{ta} Cruses burnte, which was thought to be a shipp of fyftene hundred tuns, and had in her 500 tuns of iron: we did burne in the whole aboute 30 sayle all of great burthen, soe that I judge we spoyled him 7000 tons of shippinge: we burned and brought away with us 500 tuns of breade, we also burned 400 tuns of wheate, we also spoyled him 2000 tuns of wyne, besydes great quantitye of oyle. And all our shipps well furnished with wyne, bread, oyle, and other necessaryes.

This great provicion of shippinge and victualls (as the Spanyardes saide,) were prepared against Englande. But the Allmightye God, knowinge and seeinge his wycked intent to ponishe, molest, and

troble his lytle flock, the children of Israel, hath raysed up a faithfull Moyses for the defence of his chosen, and will not suffer his people utterly to fall into the hands of there enimyes. Our good God did soe mercyfully and favorably assyste our happye generall and leader, in this shorte tyme of service, as was most marvelous: for the 21. day in the morninge, by 2 of the clock, we came out of the rode, and, when we were a lytle out, we fell becalmeed, and ten gallyes followed us, and fought with us all that forenone; but whether for lack of powder and shott, or by reason of the heat of the day, I know not, or some of them shott thorowe, which was most lykelest as we judged, they lay a looffe of for the space of three howers; never after durst come within our shott. Which our generall seeing, that afternone sent to the captayne of thoise galleyes, to knowe yf he had any Ynglyshe men in the gallyes as slaves there, as also to will him to delyver unto him 5 Ynglyshe men whom they had taken with a carvell att our comynge into Cales, by reason she was soe farr behynde us, the which carvell we had taken the day before: and he wolde delyver soe many Spanyardes or Portugalls for them. Att which tyme he sent his bote to our generall, presentinge him with suckett,* and such other novelltyes as they had, certyfyinge him that they had none, but onely thiose whome they had taken with the carvell, who were lyvinge, and in the towne att Cales: to satysfye which, yf yt pleased him to stay untyll the next day, they wolde make his request knowne unto the governors of the towne, and wold retorne to him againe with answere. But, as by our generall's judgment he perceaved there dissymulacion and there intent to defarr tyme, for to accomplyshe some other there devellish practyse, (and fyndinge the wynde for his purpose and large,) that night bore out to the sea; not makeinge any accompt of there true meaninge or dealinges towardes him in retorne; after which tyme of departure, we tooke att sea a flyebote of Dunkyrke, which was sent to Englande, as hereafter shall appere.

Within fewe dayes after, our Ajax, his mynde beinge moved to

* *Sucket*, a kind of sweetmeat.

spende some further tyme in his prynces service with his courragious company to aggravatt the honor of his fame, on the 4. day of May, by tymes in the morning, was landed by his appointment 1000 men, (18 antient,) who with bolde courrage marched thorowe there corne and vyneyeardes, for the space of fyve myles, towardes the towne of Lawgust. And where we see afarr of about 400 horsmen bravely horssed, but very yll manned; for they never durst come within muskett shott of us, having noe great shott on shore. But when we came within muskett shott of the towne, we found yt stronger then was certyfyed us, eyther by reporte, or expectacion: for yt hath on the lande syde, where we ment to make our entraunce, strong walles and fortes of late buylte. And we might also perceave in the towne att least 3000 men, who, with their great ordenaunce and other their small shott, shott att us and over us; att which tyme certayne of our men were hurte. To revenge which our admyrall with a shott from his shipp made to the horsemen, slewe one of there horsses under them, and with dyvers of our shott from our shipps and pynnisses hurte and slewe dyvers of there men. After which we marched back againe, stayinge att least two howers, expectinge there comyng for combatt, but none came; whereupon that afternone we, noe further proceedinge againste them, retyred to our shipps againe. And the next day, being the 5. of May, our generall sayled towardes the south capes, Cape Saker and Cape St. Vincent, where we landed about 800 men, all muskett, small shott, and pykemen: meaninge to satysfye his valyant mynde in doeinge some worthye exploytes upon our enimyes lande. When we had landed our men, and in order, marching by his direccion from our landing towardes a forte called Avelera, upon which was a flagg, and from which forte, when they see us so boldly to approch them, they fledd unto there great forte or castle Cape Saker, which forte, called Avelera, with certayne brass peces we tooke: which with certayne of our men was kept. All the rest of our men marched towardes the mayne forte or castle, the walles whereof were esteemed 30 foote hye, and ten foote brode. And on the est,

south, and west yt is all a mayne rock, without passage; att least 30 fawthem highe, and 15 brasse peeces there within planted. And as we marched a long by them, they shott att us, but did us noe hurte. And then and there by the comaundement of our generall 30 muskett shott went and skyrmished with them in the castle, and, when they had contynewed sometyme in skyrmishing with them and spente moste of there powder and shott, they all retorned to our mayne battle againe: having noe man slayne, but some a lytle hurte. Upon which our generall sommoned the captayne of the said castle to parly, comaunding him to yelde yt upp, which he then utterly denyed. Whereupon our generall sent for woode from our shipps to sett on fyer th'uttermost gate. And he him selfe to see the same acte performed, with great industry, carryed of the said woode and other provicion in person, and did helpe to sett yt on fyer; whylest the vauntgarde of our mayne battle skyrmished with them in there faces on the walles. Duringe which tyme of our feight with them we had two of our men slayne outright, and dyvers sore hurte. In which tyme the captayne of the castle being sore wounded, and they all within to the number of 20040 (240?) wounderfully daunted with our bolde enterpryces, put out there flagg of trusse, and yelded: when we entred, and fynding within the said castle the foresaide number of 20040 (240?) persons, our generall most favorably lycensed them to departe.

The same day, they of the Cape St. Vincent, (being a Fryery,) and in effect as stronge as the foresaid castle with another strong forte nere unto yt, (after somons by our generall geven,) sent there keyes unto our generall; them selves flying away and leavyng behynde them dyvers great brasse peces. And the next day after, being the 6. of May, we departed to our shipps, who ridd in the harbor, under the castle; leaving the said castle and the other fortes all on fyer. And in which harber we lay without resystaunce of the enimye untyll the tenth day in the morninge, from whence we put out and hoisted sayles towardes Castcales, beinge aboute 40 leages distaunt from our former harber; and where we rode att

anker most of that day in contempt of the said towne of Castcales. the castle, and eight of the Kinges gallies. And which towne and castle shott att us, but (thanckes be to God,) we were by his providence allwayes shelded from perell; we lay att anker that day within seight of Lyshborne, which ys the chefest cittye in all Portugall, and where we tooke one carvell, which our generall sent that afternone to a great forte or castle called S^{t} Julyans, where the Marques de Santa Cruses was as leavetenaunt for the Kynge; willing him to send all such Ynglyshmen as were captyves in the gallyes there, and he wolde delyver soe many Spanyardes or Portugalls for them; as also to knowe, yf the Kyng his master did determyne to make warres this yere against Englande: which yf he did, that then he was there to waste him for England. But the Marques sent him this worde againe, that (as he was a gentleman,) there was none. And further sent this worde unto our generall, that the Kyng was not provided this yere; when our generall sent to knowe yf he wolde have three yers warninge. Yett, notwithstandinge, to knowe howe God worketh with his elect and howe the enimyes of his truth are not ashamed stoutly to stande in there arrogancye and errors, styll mayntayninge there causes withe falshoode and lyes; but they have there rewarde with there master and author thereof: for we founde letters upon a Portugall whome we had then taken, and which he had wrytten to his frendes, that the kynge had made proclamacion in the country, that he wolde to Englande this yere, and wolde not leave one a lyve of mankynde above the age of 7 yeres.

But, as the hen doth gather together her chickens, noryshinge and defendinge them from the fury of sarpentes, even soe our good God with the wynges of his marcye (his mightye name therefore be praysed!) hathe and doth noryshe and defend us, as instrumentes of his truth. That night towardes evenninge we weaed anker, and from Castcales put out to sea, retorninge to our former harber Cape Saker; where we moored our shipps, furnishinge them with freshe water and ballest, as also refreshinge our men on shore for the space

of 6 dayes. In which tyme of our staye there came a neeger to our shipps, who was hastely pursued by Spanyardes on horseback, makeing greate scearch for him on shore. And which neeger beinge brought on boorde our generall, he certyfied him that there was come to Lawgust [Lagos] ten of the kynges gallyes, unto which place our generall the next day sayled, beinge distant about 4 leages; and when we were come soe nere them, soe as our great ordenaunce wolde reach them, we gave them our brode sydes, when they for rescue fledd under the rockes: where, for lack of water and further daunger, we coulde not come nere them. They also shott att our shippes, but did us noe harme. And as we sayled a longe the shore, our pynnisses chasseed within there bayes there small vessells and fysherbotes, soe that they run them selves on shore, and sunck them selves. That night our admirall with the rest of our fleete put roomer * to sea, and the next day in the morning, beinge the 19. of May, put into the same place againe; where we landed about 400 men, nere unto Algaferra, who sett on fyer a fysher vyllage, and soe retorned to our shipps againe.

We have burnt, sunck, and spoyled a great number of small vessells, carvells, and fysherbotes, some loden with orees [oars?] for the kynges gallyes, some with hoopes, pypebordes, fyshernettes and such lyke trashe.

Nowe, after all this tyme of service againste the Kynge of Spayne, even att his doore and under his nose, our generall determyning to travell (to accomplyshe his intent,) to the Ilandes of Tercera, appointed Captayne Parker, captayne of the flyebote of Dunkyrke, Captaine Ryman, captayne of the French man, which we brought from Cales, and other 3 small barkes for England; in whome was sent all our syck, lame, and deszeased men, who on Monday the 22 of May parted from us. And that night, about midnight, there arose a great tempest, which contynewed untyll Thursday the 25; in which tempest we were all sore tossed, our admirall beinge in

* An old nautical term, "*To go* or *put roomer*," to tack about before the wind. Perhaps derived from the French *remuer*.

great daunger. The next day, beinge Fryday, the 26. of May, William Burrousse, then supposed captayne of the Golden Lyon, seinge us all soie distressed, and understandinge that our generall wolde goe for the ilandes, he, without leave takeing of our generall, put roomer for Englande. And soe we, havvinge lost in the forsaid tempest all our marchaunt shipps, were left onely in number 9 sayles, who alltog[eth]er willingly sayled towardes the said ilandes of Tercera; who, after 16 dayes spent att the sea, on the 8. day of June, beinge Thursday in the forenone, we discryed the Islande Saynte Michells, under whiche ilande towardes night we escryed a great sayle; which our generall judged to be a man of warr. And, for that two of our pynnisses were farr a starne our flette, he comaunded the Raynebowe to lye a lee and come a stayes; which done, in the morninge by day we discryed a great sayle, who by our judgment made towardes us, and we, havinge a prettye gale of wynde, with all spede made towardes her; but by that tyme we had sayled towardes her aboute one leage, we might perceave her to be a mighty shipp, which was then called a carract, having out her Portugall flagg, a reade crosse: which she tooke in, and put out three or four tymes to the end we shoulde discrye our selves. But we, knoweinge what she was, wolde put out noe flag untyll we were within shott of her, when we hanged out flages, streamers, and pendentes, that she might be out of dout to knowe who we were: which don, we hayled her with cannon shott, and havinge shott her thorowe dyvers tymes, she shott att us, sometymes att one, sometymes att an other. Then we begun to applye her whotelye,.our flyebote and one of our pynnisses lyinge thwarte her hawsse, att whom she shott, and threwe fyer workes, but did them noe hurte: for that her ordenaunce lay soe hye over them. Then she, seeinge us redye to lay her on boorde, all of our shippes applyinge her soe hotely and resolutly, determyned to make shorte with her: sex of her men beinge slayne, and dyvers sore hurte, they yelded unto us; whome when we boorded, we founde to be the Kynge of Spaynes owne shipp coine from the Est Indyes, called by his owne namc

Phillipp, and the greatest shipp in all Portugall, rychly loden, to our happye joy and great gladnes. There were also in her 400 neegers, whome they had taken to make slaves in Spayne and Portugall, whome our generall with the captaine and his company, to the number of 20040, (240?) put into our flyebote to goe whether they lyst. And further delt most favorably with them, giving them most lyberally: and soe about ten of the clock they departed from us, and as we thought to the Iland S^t. Michells, and we in lyke sorte made our course for Englande: which fortunate lande on Sonday, the 25. of June, before day, we discried, fallinge with the ilande Cyllye, and nere the rockes. And on Monday the 26. we arryved att Plymouth, where we all, to our great comfortes, gave thanckes to God for our prosperous voiage, safe retorne, and his great benefyttes.

Whence theise benyfyttes procede is rather to be referred unto the devyne providence of the Allmightye, who, with the eternitye of his power, ruleeth the earth, then the hidden misterye of his wyll to be scearched into. The auntient Romauns renowmed for there prowesse Allmightye God hath heretofore (beinge hathen men) plentyfully powered [on] them the benyfyttes of his grace, as amongst them Scipio, amongst the Carthaginians the valiant Hanniball, amongst Gretians Achilles, and amongst the Trojans Hector; who, being both barberous and rude men, were taught by the lawes of nature to preferr the honor of there country before the respect of there lyves. And, as the wyse philosopher Solon was wounte to say, noe man is borne for him selfe but for his countryes cause; soe hath this faythfull generall consyderately performed the office of a Christian captaine in scourginge the enimyes of the truth, in enrychinge his country, in gevinge generall and evident example of vertue to all such as valiant courrage shall here after annymate or styre up to doe the lyke. There are many bostinge salivators, who, carpinge att shadowes att home, doe seeke to wyn credytt from laborious and venterous captaynes, and, lyke drones, repayer to the hyve to suck the hony from the paynefull bees; but this

valiant Captayne, leavinge carped service to them that seeke the gaynes thereof, hath (to the glorye of God, for that all we doe must be referred to that sacred purpose,) abayted the courrage of the prowde enimye, discovered many secrett practyzes intended to his sacred and swete prynces, who lyke a faithfull mother norisheth her children, defendes them from the bloodye myndes of enimyes, and, lyke a carefull pastoresse, feedeth her shepe and defendes them from the teeth of tearing wolves, who sytt barking att the mone, on the mountes of Albion, whose tounges the two-edged sworde of our Jehova I wyshe to cutt of, and lett his brasen rodd bruse the bones of thoise secrett wolves, that coutch them safely in the woodes of Saba, and lurcke in the wynter amongst the braunches of our ceeders, whiche Jehova send prosperytye to his lytle England and adde more ages to Elizabeth.

FINIS quod RO. LENG.

APPENDIX

OF LETTERS AND EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE EXPEDITION.

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I.—[Drake's Agreement with the Merchant Adventurers.]

[Lansdowne MS. 56, fol. 175.]

Whereas it hath pleased her most Excellent Ma^tie^ to grant unto me, Sir Frauncis Drake, knyght, hir commission, bearinge date the fiftenth day of March in the nyne and twenty yere of hir Ma^ties^ raigne, for a service to be don by me the said Sir Frauncis with fowre of her Ma^ties^ shippes and two pynacies; and whereas Thomas Cordell, John Wattes, Pawle Banninge, Symon Boreman, Hewghe Ley, Robert Flycke and their partners, merchaunts of London, have also prepared at their own proper costes and charges tenne merchaunte ships and pinnaces, also for hir Ma^ties^ service; wherefore I, the said Sir Frauncis Drake, doe by virtue of my saide commission covenant, promisse, and graunte to and with the said Thomas Cordell, John Wattes, Pawle Bannynge, Symond Boreman, Hewghe Ley, Roberte Flycke, and their partners, for the better performance of the pretended service, to consorte with the saide merchauntes shippes, which I do also receive under my goverment; and that whatsoever commoditie in goodes, money, treasure, marchaundizes, or other benefitt whatsoever shall happen to be taken by all or any of the foresaide shippes or their company, either by sea or lande, that the same shalbe equally devided accordinge to their proporcions (that is to say), man for man, and tonne for tonne, to be devided at the sea presently after the possession therof; or so sone as winde and weather will permit; provided always, that whatsoever pillage shalbe had either by sea or land, shalbe devided indifferently, viz.—the one half to the company in hir Ma^ties^ shippes, and the other half to the company of the merchauntes shippes; and for the better satisfyinge of both parties, there shalbe meet men putt abord of either fleet to have speciall care thereof; and for the performance herof, I, the said Sir Frauncis Drake, have hereunto sett my hande and seale. Yeven the eightene day of March, 1586, and in the nyne and twentie yere

of the raigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Vera copia et examinata per me

RICH. MAY, Not. Pub.

(In dorso) 18 Martij, 1587.

The compact betwixt Sir Franc. Drak and the companye of certen merchantes as cowncill.

II.—[A LIST OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.]

[S. P. O. Domestic Corresp.]

The Names of the Suertyes to be bounde to her Ma^tie^ for L m^l^ li.

Thes are parteners, and interessed in the prise.

S^r^ Francis Drake, knyghte.
Thomas Cordell, mercer.
Rycharde Barratte, mercer.
Paule Bannynge, grocer.
Heughe Lee, grocer.
William Garraway, draper.
Roberte Sadler, habardasher.
Symon Boreman, haberdasher.
Jhon Stockes, fyshemonger.
Jhon Wattes, clothwoorker.
Edward Holmden, grocer.
Androwe Bannynge, grocer.
Francis Terrell, grocer.
Robarte Flycke, draper.
George Barnes, habardasher.
Rogar Howe, habardasher.
Johne Jackson, clotheworker.
Jeames Lancastar.
Robarde Barrette.
Anthony Dassell, skynner.

(Indorsed) 31 Oct. 1587.

The names of the suerties to be bownde for the 50,000^ll^ to her Ma^tie^.

III.—[Instructions from the Council despatched after Drake's Departure.]

[S. P. O. Domestic Corresp.]

After our harty comendations, Whereas uppon sundry advertisementes and intelligences, receaved at divers tymes this last winter, very provably reported as well out of Spayn as from other cuntryes, of great numbers of shippes and other provisions for the sea, prepared by the said K., with intent (as it was given out) to employ the same in some attempt, ether against this realme or the realme of Ireland: Hir Ma^tie did thinke it very convenient, both for hir honnour and for necessary defence, to have some strength of shipping at sea, to prevent or withstand such entreprises as might be attempted against hir H. said realmes or dominions, to sett forth to the seas under your charge certayn of hir own shippes, with further authority given you to take and calle into your company as well certayn shippes sett out by some of the marchantes of the city of London, as also such other shippes of this realme as you should finde abroad at sea, and to employ them as you should see cause for hir Ma^ties service.

Since your departure, hir Ma^tie being otherwise advertised, that nether the said preparations were so great as was reported, and further, that they are of late dissolved; divers shippes as well of the East cuntryes as also of Holland and Zeland, who had been before stayd uppon pretence to furnish the said preparations, being discharged and licenced to return home; [a] and perceaving also, by some other matter that hath proceaded from the said K. of Spayn and his ministers, that he is desirous that the unkindenes and jarres happened of late yeares between hir Ma^tie and him might be in some honorable sort compounded; hir Ma^tie, being for hir part loth for those considerations to exasperate matters further then they are, or to give cause to the world to conceave, by anie thing that may procead from hir or anie of hir ministers or subiectes, that the present alteration between the said K. and hir is mainteyned or nourished by hir, otherwise then forced thereunto for hir own defence, hath comanded us to signify unto you in hir name, that hir expresse will and pleasure is, you shall forbeare to enter forcibly into anie of the said K's portes or havens, or to offer

[a] The paragraph commencing here with the words "and perceaving" and terminating with "hir own defence" has been specially marked in the original.

violence to anie of his townes or shipping within harborough, or to doe anie act of hostillity uppon the land. And yet, not withstanding this direction, hir pleasure is that both you and such of hir subjectes as serve there under you should doe your best indevour [as well by force as otherwise,][a] to gett into your possession (avoyding as myche as may lye in you the effusyon of christian blood,) such shipping of the said King's or his subjectes, as you shall finde at seas: ether going from thence to the East or West Indies, or returning from the said Indyes into Spayn, and such as shall falle into your handes to bring them into this realme without breaking bulke, untill her H. pleasure shall be further made knowen unto you in that behalfe.

(In dorso,) 1587, 9 Apr.
M. to S^r^ Fra. Drake.

IV.—[Countermand of the Original Instructions.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. France.]

Walsingham to Sir Ed. Stafford, 21 *April*, 1587.

Sir Frances Drake, as I doubt not but you have heard, is gon fourth to the seas, with fower of her Ma^tes^ shippes and two pinnaces, and betwene twenty and thirtye merchauntes shippes. His Commission is to impeach the joyning together of the K. of Spaynes fleete out of their severall portes, to keepe vittalls from them, to followe them, in case they should be come forward towardes England or Ireland, and to cutt off as many of them as he could, and impeach their landing; as also to set uppon such as should ether come out of the West or East Indias into Spayne, or go out of Spayne thether; but now, uppon knowledge reseavid that the K. doth dissolve his preparacions, havinge alreadye dischardged th'Easterlings, there is new order sent unto Sir Frauncis Drake to take a milder course, for that he was before particularlye directed to distresse the shippes within the havens themselves.

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[a] The words here included in brackets are struck out.

V.—[Sir Francis Drake's own Account of the Attack.]

[Harl. MS. 167, fol. 104, and printed at the end of Thomas Greepe's Exploites of Sir Fr. Drake, a poem, 4°. Bl. L. London, 1587.]

To my very lov[inge friend Mr. Jno. Fo]xe, preacher, hast and post hast.

Mr. Foxe, whereas we have had of late [suche happy successe] against y^e^ Spanierds, I doe assure my selfe that you have faithfully remembred us in your good prayers, and therefore I have not forgotten briefly to make you partaker of y^e^ somme thearof.

The 19th of April we aryved with[in] Cales roade, where we found much shipping; but, among y^e^ rest, 32 shippes of exceeding great burthen, laden, and to be laden, with provision and prepared to furnishe y^e^ Kinges navye, intended with all speed against England; the which, when we had boarded and thearout furnished our shippes with such provision as we thought sufficient, we burned; and, although for y^e^ space of 2 dayes and nights that we continewed thear we were still endangered, both with thundering shott from the towne, and assaulted with the roaring canons of 12 galleys, we yet sonck 2 of them and one great argousey, and still avoided them with very smale hurt ; so that at our departure we brought away 4 shippes of provision, to the great terror of our enemyes and honor to ourselves, as it might appear by a most courteous letter, written and sent to me w^th^ a flagge of truice by D. Pedro, generall of y^e^ galleys. But whereas it is most certayn that the K. doth not only make speedy preparation in Spaine, but likewise expecteth a very great fleet from the Straights and divers other places to joine with his forces to envade Englande, we purpose to sett aparte all feare of danger, and by God's furtherance to proceed by all good meanes that we can devise to prevent their coming; wherefore I shall desier you to continew a faithfull remembrancer of us in your prayers, that our present service may take that good effect as God may be glorified, his church our Q. and contreye preserved, and the enemy of the truth utterly vanquished, that we may have continewall peace in Israell. From aboord her Ma^ties^ good shipp the Elizabeth-Bonadventure, in very great hast, this 27 of April, 1587.

Written by the hande of your obedient sonne in the Lorde, William Spenser, and subscribed with S^r^ Fr. owne hand in this sort,

Your loving frend, and faithfull sonne in Christ Jesus,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

[An addition written with Sir Francis' owne hand.]

Our enemyes are many, but our Protector comandeth y^e^ whole world: let us all pray continewally, and our Lorde Jesus will helpe in good tyme mercifully.

Your ever,

FR. DRAKE.

[*Upon the back of this document, which is a copy only, appears another in the same handwriting with the foregoing, but slightly imperfect at the commencement, the first line or two being almost illegible. It is evidently a narrative of the attack in the harbour of Cadiz by one of the actors in the affair, and tallies most minutely in its detail with the account of Robert Leng.*]

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The 19. of April one hour afore sonne sett he entred the harb[our] . . . . . whear he was at his . . . . the towne with vj galleys, but the same retorned sone . . .

In the road thear were about 60 shippes besides other small vessells [that] rode under their forteresses, whearof about 20 Fre[nch] shippes fled to Porte Royall and some Spanierdes whose flight we could not hinder by reason of the schalles [shallows ?].

At our entry with our shott we sunck one argozey of about 1,000 tonne that caryed 30 brasse peeces and was very ritchly laden. Thear were before night about 38 shippes undertaken, and we victors of the roade, for the galleys retired to their forteresses. Thear came presently from S^t^ Mary Porte 2 galleys and other 2 from Porte Royall, but in vayne, for their chiefest gaine was expence of pouder and shott.

Of 20 hulkes Hollanders confiscate to the Kinge whose goodes were sould to his use 14 were fyered, the other 6 scaped to Porte Royal ; we fyered a carrick belonging to the Marquize of Sancta Cruce of 1,400

tonne. We fyred also 5 great Biscayns, whearof 4 weare lading and takinge in of victuals to the Kinges use for Lisbone, and the fivth, bey[ng] a shipp of 1,000 tonne, was laden for the Indies with iron spikes, nayles, iron hoopes, and horseshoes.

Also 3 flyboates of 300 tonne laden with biscuict, whearof one was halfe unladen before in the harborow and thear fyered; the other two we tooke away with us.

Some 10 barckes more laden with wyne, raysins, figges, oyle, wheat, and such lyke we fyered.

Thear were by supposition 38 barckes fyered, sonck, and brought away, which amounted unto 13,000 tonne of shipping. Thear ridd at Porte Royall in sight of us by estimation above 40 sayle, beside those that fled out of Cales Roade. During our aboade they gave us small rest by reason of their shott from the galleys, forteresses, and shoar, whear continewally they placed new ordinance at places convenient to offende; which notwithstandinge, we continewally fyered their shippes as the flood came inn, to the end to be cleared of them; the sight of which terrible fyers were to us very plesant, and mitigated the burthen of our continewall travayle, whearin we were busied for 2 nights and one day in dischardging, fyering, and lading of prov[isions], with reservation for good, laudable, and guardable defence of the ennemy.

It pleased God by the general's great care and paynes day and night to finish this happy action in her Ma[tles] service in one day and 2 n[ights], and came out againe the Fryday in the morning without the loss of any one man at the action, or any hurte but only the master gunner of the Golden Lyon, whose legge was broken with a great peece from the towne; but the man like to doe well, God be thancked.

In a small carvell that was taken the night before were 5 of our men without the generall's knowledge, because he hasted the enterprize with all expedition, which was very needful, because the sonne was not above one houre high at our approach. This carvell beyng far asterne came in very late, so as the galleys intercepted her with much shott and many musketts, but they would never strike, and so was taken, which was all the losse that we sustayned.

Tenne galleys came forth after us, but as to make sport with their ordinance; at length the winde skanted, and we cast about for the shoare,

and came to ankor within one league of Cales, whear the gallyes suffered us to ryde quietly. Thre of those galleys after some sporte departed the same day to S^{t} Lucar to fetch other thre galleys and one galliace that were thear, as we understood, by advertisement of some of our prisoners. There were also 3 flybotes at Malega laden with bread and bound for Cales, and so for Lisbone, we understand of great provision and forces, provided within the straights; but we doubt not but God, as he has given us this happy victory to the daunting of the enemy, will also blesse this armye, and thearwith dayly cutt theyr forces shorter, to his great annoy and to the honor of our Prince and contry, which God for ever continew.

We have now tryed by experience the galleys' fight, and I assure you that her Ma^{ties} 4 shippes will make no accompt of 20 of them, in cace they might be alone and not driven to guard others.

Thear were never galleys that had more fitte place for their advantage in fight, for, upon the shot that they receaved, they had present succour from the towne, which the[y] used sundry tymes; we riding in a narrow gutt, the place yealding no better, in that we were driven to mainteyn the fight untill we had fyered their shippes, which could not be conveniently done but upon the flood, for they might drive cleane [off.]

We rest victualed with bread and drinck for 6 monthes in our shippes, and have besides twoe flyeboates full laden with bread sufficient for a good army for thre monthes.

We all remayn in great love with our generall and in unitye throughout the whole fleet.

It may seem strange or rather miraculous that so great an exploict shold be performed with so small losse; the place to endomadge us beyng so convenient, and their force so great, as appeared, from whom were shot at us at the least 200 culverine and canon shott; but in this as in all others our actions heartofore, though dangerously attempted yet happely performed, our good God hath and dayly doth make his infinite power manifest to all papistes apparantly, and his name be by us his servants continewally honored.

VI.—[Another Relation of the spoiling of Cadiz.]

[Lansd. MS. 96, Art. 24.]

Good cosen Gifford, lo here a full amendes that I wrote nott newes to yowe but to D^r^ Stillinges in my other; after whiche 3 houres, I send these partyculers; for I wrote onely to him in generall, that Draecke had played his pagent, and retorned home: here the maner howe.

The 29. of Aprill last he discov[er]ed him selfe before Calz in Spayne, where, the wynde and wether failinge him, as God would, he could nott in twoe dayes after enter the ryver, but upon Saterday he did: in this meane tyme they prepared ther selfes, planted artilerye upon ther bridge, and furnyshed ther gallies. The marchants strangers, beinge very many in numbre, abandoned all ther shipps, so as 22 of them wer sonke and takinge without any resistance, whereof he caryed onelye away withe him vj. whiche he spoyled upon the seas, and after sonke them also; his spoyle he gott is small, or nothinge woorthe to England, greate losse to the awnners, whiche were all Spaynerdes and Italyans, of Venis, Luca, Florenteze, Genua, save one shipp of a Frenchman's woorthe some viij or 10,000 Δ, the whole losse in generall (for Don Diego, who wrote the newes, wrote also the particulers), dothe not surmount to above 170,000 Δ; whereof the Kinges parte is leste of all, not vij^m^ Δ in vitailles, for gallies he lost none, but Don Marquis del S^te^ Cruce lost his owne princely barke, estemed at the valewe of 18,000 Δ, whiche warmeth him, who, for feare of lossinge his honor before, well [was?] always hinginge backe frome medlinge or matchinge withe Englishe pirates. The rest be most of it the said 4 states of Italies, who vowethe and swearethe the robberye and arrest of all Englishe shipps they can come by in Italy or els wher: this, cominge upon the necke of the infamye of murderinge the Scottishe Quene, will hasten hir ruyne no doute. Sure all reporte they fought most valyantly, withe what losse onlye them selfes knowe; but the fight was reasonable longe, and God gave to the gallies duringe a marvelouse calme, to ther great advantage and the ennymies spoyll, yet was it nott noted that any of Draeckes shipps were sonke presentlye, thouge most of them banged vylye, and no doute many of ther men slayne and hurte. But when Draecke see ther pretence prevented and provyded for, and the towne forewarned of ther comynge, he perceyved they had had advertissement, and so retyred. Ther pretence to have taken

that have *(sic)* ther, and so to have in those strayttes joyned with Mores, Infydells, and other, to have all traffycke frome Spaine, ether from the Indyans, or from Mare Mediterraneum, a dyvelshe device, yf it had taken successe. Here Waid and the Embassadour swearethe, that some of the pryvie counsell at home be trayters, and bewrayed the mater, and so have overthrowen the realme. God be praysed, he spedd no better; ether this or nothing will maike seeke revenge. These newes beinge so trewe, so particular, and so freshe, I doute nott but I have maid yowe amendes, good cosen; yea, I suppose as yett yowre pinces *(sic)* ther have not these particulers, and therefore use them as yowrs, but rede them not in the Hall, tyll M^r^ D. Styllinges have redde his, whiche be onely but 3 houres older. Adieu, once again, good cosen; comend me most effectually to yowre mother and syster, I trust all thre my frendes, this Corpus Christi even.

Your cosen,

R. T.[a]

(Addressed,) A. Mons^r^,
Mons^r^ Docter Giffort,
Au semynarie des Anglois,
Reme.

VII.—[Advices of Sir Francis Drake's Proceedings before Cadiz (sent out of France).]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. France.]

Advis de ce qui est passé a Calez, en la conté d'Andalowsie: l'armée d'Angleterre, commandée par François Dracq, y estant arrivé le xxix^e^ jour du moys d'Apvril, 1587.

Le Mecredy 29 Apvril, sur les cinq heures du soir, l'armée d'Angleterre feust descouverte, venant droict a Caliz, ou Don Pedro de Acugna estoit avec sept galleres: l'un desquelles il envoya pour recognoistre quelz vaisseaulx ce pouvoient estre, et ladite gallere sestant approchée à la portée du canon fut tiré par les Anglois, ce qui la feit retourner dans le port, à quoy l'on cogneust que c'estoit ennemis. L'alarme se donna incontinent par toute la ville, qui se mit ez armes, faisant retirer dans la

[a] Query Robert Throckmorton? The families of Gifford and Throckmorton were allied by marriage.

forteresse les femmes et toutes personnes in[capables] à la deffendre, et pour la confusion à quoy ils se trouverent, vingt sept femmes et enfans se trouverent estouffez en la presse, et à l'entree de ladite forteresse.

Le gouverneur et les principaulx de la ville meirent incontinent le meilleur nombre de les gens aux advenues les plus dangereuses, et ou l'ennemy pourroit plustost désembarquer; et pendant que chacun se mettoit ez armes dans ladite ville, fust despesché au Duc de Medina Sidonia à St. Lucar, et à toutes les villes et lieux circonvoisins, pour leur demander secours. Ce pendant ung nombre de gens à cheval et de pied feirent ung corps de garde au pont, le lieu le plus commode pour desembarquer: autre nombre fut envoyé pour empescher que l'ennemy ne rompit ung pont par lequel debvoit entrer le secours. Les ennemys, estans entrez dans le port, commencerent à mettre à fondz tous les navires qui se trouverrent devant eulx; entre autres ung grand navire Genevoye chargé de marchandise, fort riche, cinq autres d'Espaigne chargez et appareillez pour aller aux Indes, et ung grand gallion Biscain du port de 700 tonneaulx; et tous lesditz vaisseaulx se perderent; car l'ennemy mettoit le feu à tous, apres en avoit tire ce que bon luy sembloit.

A l'encontre de ladite armée fust prise dans le port par une gallere une barque, ou estoient quatre ou cinq Anglois, desquelz feust sceu que ladite armée estoit venue en tierze jours d'Angleterre à Caliz, avec deliberacion de saccager la ville. Don Pedro da Acugna ce pendant faisoit tout le debvoir avec ses galleres d'endomager l'ennemy, l'artillerye du quel, estant de plus grande portée que celle des galleres, les contraignit de se retirer.

Toute la nuict se passa en grande trouble et confusion dans la ville, et l'ennemy ayant trouvé lesdites galleres dans le port, et voyant la resistance que l'on se preparoit de luy fere, ne luy fit aucun effort de mettre gens à terre; et prins pour meilleure party saccager et brusler les vaisseaulx, qui peut aborder, en quoy Dieu fit une grande grace à ce peuple, car la peur et la confusion l'avoit laissé merveillesement troublé.

Les villes et lieux circonvoisins toute la nuict furent marches leur secours, et une partie y entra sur la dianne, et le reste sy acheminant et y entrant d'heure en heure.

Le jeudy, le jour estant venu, les galleres se meirent autre fois en debvoir d'attacquer l'ennemy, auquel demeura tant d'avantage pour la quantité et force de son artillerye, que les galleres feurent contrainctes de se retirer.

L'ennemy envoya force barque pour mettre le feu aux vaisseaulx, qu'il pouvoit aborder ung grand gallion du Marquis de S^te^ Croix, du port de 800 tonneaux, chargé de vins, et fut abordé par l'ennemi cinq autres vaisseaulx Biscains, six ou sept Turques, chargées en partie de munitions de guerre et victuailles, et tous feurent saccagez; puys apres l'ennemy mit le feu dedans.

Le dit jeudy, au matin, l'ennemi feyt contenance de voulloir entreprendre de rompre le pont, par lequel il voyoit entrer le secours; toutes fois voyant deux galleres, et quelques vaisseaulx ordonnez pour le deffendre, ne fit aucun effort.

Sur le midy l'armée se mit en tresbon ordre, et montrerent à leur contenance voulloir fere à la voille: mais le vent ne le servit pas, et surgireit; autres fois cependant l'artillerye des galleres et de la forteresse ne cessa de tirer pour endommager; mais la scienne portait trop d'avantage à l'autre, de sorte qu'il n'en fut aucunement offence, et fit tousjours retirer les galleres.

Le jeudy, en tout le jour, entrerent dans Caliz trois mil hommes de pied de differendz endroictz, et trois cens chevaulx; la plus grande partie estans conduictz par le Duc de Medina Sidonia, qui entra sur le midy, et la ville fut asseuré. La nuict estant levée, les gardes feurent assissés et renforcées, nonobstant que l'on cogneust bien que l'ennemy se voulloit retirer; et sur le minuit estant levé ung vent de terre l'armée se feit à la voille les galeres, en suiverent. Et, à la mesme heure, le Duc de Medina Sidonia depescha ung basteau leger pour suivre ladite armée, jusques à ce que l'on peut tirer certitude de la routte que l'en prenoit, qui est ce qui c'est passé jusques au vendredy matin premier jour de May.

L'on estime qu'il peut emporter deux mil neuf cens pippes de vins, dix mil quintaulx de buiscuitz, dix mil charges de froment, et quelque quantite d'autres victuailles, et munitions de guerre; grand nombre d'armes et d'artillerye, qu'il a tiré de dix neuf vaisseaulx, qu'il a bruslé dans le port.

Aucuns estiment le dommage, que a faict ladite armée, importer de trois ou quatre cens mil escuz; autres disent beaucoup davantage, ce qui ne se peut encores estimer en si peu de temps: l'on presume que ladite armée prendra la routte des Isles de Carrie, la Madere, ou la Tirsera, et qu'elle y fera tout l'effort et dommage qu'il pourra d'en . . . chercher les flottes qui viennent des Indes, sur lesquelz Drac droict avoir son principal desseing.

Rellacion des Navires de l'Armee de Francois Dracq.

Deux cappitaines grandz vaisseaulx, et fort bien faictz pour la guerre ; chacun du port de 500 tonneaulx ou environ.

Deux amirailles de la mesme forme et port que les deux premiers.

Ung grand navire de la mesme sorte, du port de 400 tonneaux.

Deux gallions fort bien faictz pour la guerre, du port de 200 tonneaulx.

Sept navires de 150 tonneaulx, à peu pres tous bien armés, et pourveus de fort bonne artillerie.

Treize fregottes, fort belles, du port de 50 tonneaulx ou environs.

Les grandz navires maynant de service pour chacun deux ou trois barques, fort legers, pour desembarquer 30 ou 40 personnes à chacune fois.

Qui sont en tout vingt sept vaisseaulx, sans les barques sur lesquelles deux Anglois pris prissoniers ont dict ny avoir pas davantage de iiij^{m} hommes, compris les mariniers.

VIII.—[Foreign Opinion upon Drake's Movements.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. Venice.]

Mr. John Wrothe to Lord Burghley, dated Venice, May 7, 1587.

The settinge oute of Sir Francesse Dracke to the sea is marvelouslie aproved in these parts, and affirmed to bee the onelie meanes of hinderinge the prosperouse successes of the Spaniard's attempts; the whiche is onelie maintained with the richesse and trade of the Indies, the whiche if her M. cann finde meanes to intercepte or lett, then no doute the Spaniarde will be constrained to come to a verie reasonable compositione.

IX.—[Announcement of Drake's Success.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. France.]

S^{r} Ed. Stafford to Walsingham, May 17, 1587.

There is a couriar come hether yesternight out of Spayne with newes of S^{r} Francis Drake's successe, which althoughe I thinke you have allredie, yet woolde I not leave to write ytt, as we heare ytt heere.

Theie write that he hathe beene in the baie of Cales, where he hathe sounke and carried awaie twoe and twentie shippes; that he had a great fight for the winning of the bridge and the towne, and that he verie valiantly assailed ytt, and verie hardly missed ytt, and that nowe he is retyred backe to the Cape. More, itt is said, that the Marquis of S^te^ Crux is at Lisbone, where is a preparation of great forces, and that he will be readie to come forthe the eleventhe of the next monethe.

X.—[Translations of sundry Correspondence taken in the Voyage, relating to the English Expedition.]

[Lansdowne MS. 53, fol. 21 &c.]

Peter Arnaulte in Antwarpe the xxv^th^ of Marche, 1587, *unto a freere in Civile (Seville).*

In Englande there be many shippes made readie, as also in Denmarke, and all for the warres in Spaine; of their successe the tyme will give us knowledge; yf you do upon any occasion sell any comodities for time, let the prise be raised muche more then for readie money; for that the gallions are subiecte to mysfortune, and yf they shoulde miscarye with their golde, (which God forbidde!) we should hardly recover that which is owing us, &c.

The said Peter Arnaulte the xx^th^ of Aprill, 1587, *unto the aforesaid.*

That which doth give us discontent is, that it is certaynely knowne that there are gone many shipps of warre out of Englande, and in lyke manner from Hollande and Zealande, being (as they say) above 60 sayles; yt is feared they are gone to meete the fleete which is looked for from the Indies; the which, bringing so great ritches as they doe, yt must needes encourage theym greatly to sett upon theym; which God forbidde! And it is the more to be feared and suspected, for that there dothe not appeare upon all the coast of France or England any shippes of warre; although yt be certainly knowne that there are many gone fourth. God guide all, and give us peace and bread, of the which there is great want.

Francisco de Benito de Maiora, in the port St. Mary, the xxix^th^ of Aprill, at nyne of the clock at night, unto the President and others the Kinges Officers of the Contractacion House of the Indies in Civile (Seville).

The procuringe of the remeadie of this towne and gevinge advise to Shearies and S^t^ Lucar, of the confusion wherein the English armye hath put us, hath bene cause that this poste departed not three houres sooner, as otherwise he might have done. That which passeth is, about fower of the clock we hearde a great noise of ordynaunce in the bay, and sawe many sayles of shippes entering in. I wolde have gone to have seene what it was, but within two houres, which might be about sixe of the clock, there came in hither the Galliota, which brought tenne men verie soare hurt. The people of this towne are in armes; there are in the baye two or three shippes sett on fire, but what they are we know not; this is all that as yet we can learne.

The President aforesaid, Antonio de Guevarra, and Ochoa de Vigenca, in Civile, the last of Aprill, to the Marques of Aimounte, in Leape.

Presently there came a post from the Port S^t^ Mary with a letter, the coppie whereof goeth herewith, by the whiche your honnour may understande, ther remayned in the Bay of Cadix an Englishe armye, beinge 40 great shippes, shootinge to the cittie, and burning shippes &c.: yt hath beene thought good to lett your honour understand thereof, to th'ende yf yow shall thinke good to seeke prevencion; to the which effecte we dispatched this post. It doth importe verie muche the Kinges service, that this advise be given to John Martiniz de Recalde, which is at the Cape with certayne shippes of warre: and therefore yt is convenient, it please yow, to dispatche a barke presently with a coppie of this letter, and an other from your honour, that he may repaire to Lixbone; and in the barke let there goe a man sufficient to delyver him the said dispatches, in anie place where he maie fynde him, and what in this shalbe done, it may please your honour to advertize us.

The Marques of Aimonte, in Leape, the 1st of May, 1587, unto John Martinez de Recalde; with the coppies of the aforesaid letters, to be delyvered him at sea, where he may be founde.

At the present wryting hereof, I receaved a letter from the president

and other the Kinges Ma^ties officers of the Contractacion House of the Indies in Civile, the coppie whereof goethe herewith; as also the coppie of an other letter wrytten unto them from the Port S^t Mary, and for that it is convenient for the Kinges service that your woorship should have advise therof, to th'end you might repayre with your shippes to Lixbone. I wryte this that there takinge councell of the Cardynall, and the Marques of S^ta Cruse, yow may repaire to that which maie be most for the Kinges service; and onlie to that effecte I did comaunde to dispatch this barque from Aimonte.

Gregorio Gomiz, gallego in Lixbone, the ix^th of Maie, 1587, *unto Domingo Martinis, in Anger.*

The newes which I have to advertize your woorship of is, that, as it is comonly reported, there are fower fleetes of shippes gone out of Englande; of the which one beinge of xxviij verie great shippes, xvij barkes, and one great galliassa, verie well appointed with ordenance, arryved in the Bay of Cadiz, where they pretended to have landed and sacked the cittie; but (as God wolde) there weare tenne gallies that defended them, which th'enemy seeing, he ancored hard by the shipps he founde in the baye, beinge aboute xxix sayles; and amongst theym Don Farnando his shippe, which came from th'Indies, bought by the Marques de S^ta Cruse; and of th'aforesaid nomber they caryed with them two verie great shippes, with above 1,500 pypes of wyne and 4,000 quintalles of biskett, and burned the rest. It is said they indamaged the K. above fyve hundrethe thowsand duckettes, in 4,000 pypes of wines, 20,000 kintalles of byskett, 30,000 hannegas [a] of wheate and other provicions, which they burned and destroyed ; and more, they burned other two shippes, which weare laden for Brasill. Their fortune was so good, that the time served them at their pleasure to go into the bay and fourth againe; but whither they went from hence yt is not knowne. I wishe you to looke well to yourselves in that islande, lest they shoulde pretend to goe thither. As yet we have none order from Madrild touchinge this matter; I knowe not whether there shall go any shippes of warre for that yslande or noe; God healpe

[a] *Hannega* or rather *fanega*, a Spanish measure of corn weighing about 1cwt. or somewhat more than an English bushel.

us! for we are in great daunger venturinge by sea. Trulie I am in great feare of the shippe that did wynter in the Indies, for that I have in her a thowsand duckettes adventure; God delyver her from her enemyes! I have not assured any parte thereof, and at this present I do not fynde that will assure yt at any prize.

XI.—[Letter of Drake touching his Progress.]

[Printed in "Newes out of Spain," Bl. L. 4° 1587, in the Grenville Collection.]

Maister W.[a] you shal understand that, since the departure of Captaine Crosse, we have continued about Cape Saker, where we landed, and the better to have the benefite of the water, as also to ride in harborough at our pleasure, we assaulted the same castle and three other strong holdes, which we tooke, some by force and some by submission.

We have taken, at severall times, of shipping, barkes, and carvels above an hundreth, laden with hoopes, gallyoares, pipe staves, timber, and other provisions of the King of Spaines, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, which we burned, and have consumed all the fisher boates and nettes thereaboutes, to their great hinderance.

Thence we came before the haven of Lishbon, ancouring neere unto Cast Cales, where the Marques of S. Cruse was with his gallies, and seeing us chase his ships ashore, to take and carrie away his barkes and carvels, was content to suffer us there quietlie to tarrie and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one cannon shot.

Thus, for want of time, I leave the discourse of everie particular event unto Captaine Parker, who hath beene an eie witnesse and an actor in all our services past. From Cape Saker abourd hir Maiesties good shippe the Elizabetha-Bonaventure, the 21. of May, 1587.

Your loving friend,

Fr. Drake.

[a] Walsingham?

XII.—[Explanation of the Conduct of the Government in Reference to Drake's Voyage.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. Flanders.]

Extract from Letter to Andreas de Loo, signed by the Lo. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller, 14 June, 1587.[a]

And whereas yt may be objected, that the employment of Sir Francis Drake upon the cost of Spaine hath moved the Duke [of Parma], (upon like jealosie conceaved thereby of the soundnes of her Ma^tes^ disposition to the said peace,) to proceed as he doth; yt may be answeared, and that both with honor and truth, that her Ma^tie^ hearing sondrie waies, espetially by intercepting of divers Spanish letters, which are extant and to bee seen, that the King of Spaine had prepared a great navie to sea, with a full determination to have assayled this realme and the realme of Ireland, could do no lesse but to use all meanes to impeach the same by keping the said preparacion, being made in sondrie ports of Spaine, from joyning together; for which purpose only the said Drake was sett forth. And yet, after her Ma^tie^ was enformed that the said preparations were in some part staied, and did also find a disposition in the duke, upon your returne, that he was verie well bent to proceed to some good conclusion of peace, she caused an expresse messinger to be sent by sea unto the said Drake with letters, by the which he was expresly comaunded not to enter into anie of the King's ports, or to attempt anie act of hostilitie by land; but only to explore the truth of the preparations, and to impeach the amassing of the same from port to port. And for that the partie sent with the said letter could never, by reason of contrary wynd, recover Sir Francis Drake, but was constreyned to returne back without meeting with the said Drake, whereby it was not delivered, her Ma^tie^ since his returne hath caused him to be verie carefully examined upon the matter, with intent to have severely punished him: in case it had not been found (as it was) that he had done his uttermost endevor for the finding of the said Drake, and that he was impeached by contrary wynds. And for the better mani-

[a] This is a draught or copy with corrections and interlineations added in Burghley's hand.

festing of her Ma^tes disposition therein, we can assure you that her highnes, understanding of some attempts of the said Drakes by land contrary to her speciall direction, is greatly offended with him for the same, and meaneth at his retorne to carie him to his aunsweare for, which sheweth most apparantly the continuance of her Ma^tes good disposition towards the peace, wherein we can assure you, yf there shalbe found there the like correspondencie and inclination, there was never greater hope of sound and spedy proceeding in the said treatie then at this present.

XIII.—[Letter of Lord Burghley disclaiming Drake's Authority for his Depredations.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. Flanders.]

Burghley to Andreas de Loo, 18 *July*, 1587.

Whan I had wrytten thus far and had red it over, being ready to sign it, I bethought myself that you wold thynk I had not answered on[e] great scruple mentioned in your letter by the duke remembred: which was, that he mislyked greatly the actions of Sir Fr. Drake, doutyng that they might alienat the Kinges mynd from the inclyning to peace: wherunto this answer ought to satisfye you, to be delivered if hereafter the duke shall reiterat that scruple. Trew it is, and I avow it uppon my faythe, hir Ma^ty did send a shipp expressly, with a messadg by letters chargyng hym not to shew any act of hostillite, befor he went to Cales; which messynger by contrary wyndes cold never come to the place wher he was, but was constrayned to come home: and, hearing of Sir Fr. Drake's actions, hir Ma^ty comaunded the party that retorned to have been punished, but that he acquitted himself by the oth of hym self and all his company.

And so unwyttyng, yea unwyllyng to her Ma^ty, those actions war comitted by Sir Fr. Drake, for the which hir Ma^ty is as yet greatly offended with him. And now for his bryngyng home of a rych shipp, that came out of the Est Indias, I assure we (*sic*) the Q. knoweth not as yet of what vallew hir ladyng is; but, consideryng the great losses that hir sub-

jectes had, both by arrest of all their goodes in Spayne, and by takyng of ther persons, and oppressing of them to ther ruyn and deth, it can not be that this shipp nor many mo the lyk can satisfye ther former losses: and therfor, untill a peace may be made and fynished, hir Ma^{ty} can not inhibit hir subjectes to sek ther helpes by reprisalls: nether can hir Ma^{ty} leave to kepe hir shippes armed, or to send them to the partes of Spayn, as long as she shall certenly understand the contynuall preparations that the K. maketh, both out of Spayn and Itally, to have an army on the seas, with manifest intention to come to the invasion of hir contrees. And hereunto we add as an evill sign of inclynation to peace, in that we heare that dyvers of rebells ar lately gon out of France to the D. of Parma, accompanyed with the B. of Ross disguised, to practise with the D. to offend this realm by the way of Scotland.

XIV.—[Requests of the Merchant Adventurers for an equitable Share in the Spoil.]

[S. P. O. Dom. Corresp.]

The spoiles of bread, wyne, oile, &c., which was taken at Cales, shold have byn sent home as merchaundize; but, the Quenes shippes beinge victuled at their goeinge forth for not above 3 monethes, the same was deteyned to supplie their necessitie, whereas the merchauntes shipps were furnished for 9 monethes victules, to their treble charge, so that they require to have recompence accordinglie of the gooddes now sent home.

And further, whereas there was a pynace sent forth to meete Sir Fraunces Drake, which hath taken a pryze worth 5,000^{li} and better, the saide merchauntes desire to have there shares thereof accordinge to equitie, so shall they be incoraged to sett forward the like services hereafter.

There be certen thinges concealed, which will secretlie be devided amonges theym that have least deserved, whereof a dilligent care for th'examinacion is to be hadd.

(*In dorso,*) The requests of the Merchant Adventurers with Sir Francis Drak. 15 June, 1587.

XV.—[News of Drake after the Attack upon Cadiz.]

[S. P. O. For. Corresp. Spain.]

This shalbe to geve your honor to understand, that the armye which is mayd in Lyshbona ys as this; they have xxiiij shipps, of the wich xv ar Portinggalls, and eight Biskins, and one of the Duck of Florence: the which shipps ar allredy with ther provicion on bord, and ther saylls a crosse. Butt at my coming a way they did want marryners, for ther staying was for the marryners of the shipps which Sir Frances Draycke burnd in Caylls, and the souldiers to com out of Napells: the which was reported ther should com the third of Napells, and iiij galliasses, and xxx galles: the report was they weare all aryved at Calls. And so they maid ther accompt to be in Lichbona, to go fourth all together upon S^{t} James' day to meate with S^{r} Fraunces Draycke, and to wayte for ther Inges (Indies) fleete.

Your honor shall understand, that this armye above written it was reported before Sir Fraunces Drayckes arryving in Cayles, that they should goe for Ireland, and to carry with them the Iryshe Busshoppe, which is in Lichbona, for to proclayme him governor of Ireland under the Poppe.

Further to lett your honor understand, Sir Frances Draycke arryved in Gaskaylles, which ys with in the sight of Lichbona, upon Whitsound Wednesday, after the Portinggaylles accompte, whiche maide all the people to avoyde the towne, both men, wemen, and children; and carryed with them all ther substance. So the cardinall was enformed by fyshermen of the same towne, that Sir Frauncis Drayckes stayinge was for the wantonye, for the wynning of the countrye; and, presently upon the same, the cardinall sent for all his noblemen for to sitt in counsell of Sir Frauncis being ther. And that present day they mayd xxiiij Portinggall gentlemen captaynes, and mayd proclamacion aboute the cittie for souldyers, and some of the said captaynes were sent upp into the countrye to mayke souldyers in a readines; so, before my coming away, they had armed twooe portes with Portinggalles, which is Gaskalles and Penniche.

More to geve your honor to understand, that they have maid in Lichbona, since Sir Frauncis Drayckes arryvinge in Caylls, many peces of ordnaunce of coper, and of bells which weare broughte out of Flaunders, and before these weare made they weare not halffe provyded of ordnaunce

for ther shipping. Sir Frauncis Draycke haith so touched them in ther shipping and castells, that they were allmost unprovyded both of provicion and ordnaunce.

Allso to geve your honor to understande, that the report ys in all gentlemens mowthes in the courte of Portinggaylle, that the Poppe, and the King of Spayne, and the King of Fraunce, the Ducke of Florence, with all the power they ar hable to mayke, [intend] to congquor England this next yeare, and saythe the Prince of Parme shall com Generall, and that the Poppe haith graunted him to be Kinge of England, and to ayde and assyst him with all the power he is hable to mayke.

(*Endorsed,*) July, 1587.
Reporte of the Spanishe Preparations.

XVI.—[State of Alarm on the Continent and probable Results consequent upon Drake's continuing his Aggressions.]

[Harl. MS. 296, fol. 44.]

Pompeio Pellegrini to M. Giacopo Mannucci, in London; dated Florence, 3 July, 1587 (partly in cipher).

The attempts of *Sir Fr. Drake*[a] upon those coastes [the coasts of Spain] do make them all to tremble, and yf, upon his entrynge into the porte of *Calis*,[a] he had ymedyatly landed, he had undowtedly and without contrast[b] put that rytch towne to sacke, and made a grete bootye, whiche they all expected, for the succors came not in sixtene howers after; nevertheles, he wrytes that the dommage hathe byn more then a million of crownes; thus mutche he wryteth.

[a] The words here denoted by italics were originally written in cipher. [b] *qu.* contest.

[Harl. MS. 296, fol. 46.]

Another Letter, signed B. C., but endorsed "from Mr. Standen," addressed to M. Jacopo Mannucci, in London; under date of Aug. 28, 1587, *from Italy (partly in cipher).*

If the flete of the Peru shoulde lykewise fall in Dracke's clowches, we Englishe Catholickes here shoulde not be able to shewe our faces, for I thincke they woulde stone us to dethe in the stretes; sutche a generall mislyke is growen here of our nation within these two monethes, aboute these matters; for that Italie, more than any other countrey, is damnified by that, and the stop of that navigation, whiche, folowinge in this maner, will ruyne many a familie that nowe floweth in welthe, and sutche as a whyle agone lawghed at the abasement of Spayne, &c.

XVII.—Grief of the Spaniards at the loss of the Carrack.—Escape of the West Indies' Fleet.

[S. P. O. Domestic Corresp.]

Report of Gilbert Tison, who came from Lisbone the 3d of September, 1587.

The losse of the carracke, which S^r^ Fra. Drake did take, breed marvailous greif, and with dread did the marques departe forth; for yt was given him to understand, that there were 3 fleetes of English men of warre; S^r^ Fra. Drake having onlie the charge of the principall fleete. So that yt was not feared onlie, but certainlie resolved upon, that the West Indies fleete (notwithstanding the wastage of the Marques) would be intercepted. But about the same time that order cam from the Court of Spaine to dispatch that fleete to the Groine, allso came the newes, that 9 West Indies men were arrived at S^t^ Lucar, but the rest of their fleete, being about 25 or 26 saile more, were not harde of; for theise ix. shippes were seperated from the other by fowle weather, and did not at all touch at the Ilandes: neither knewe of the Marques being there. There was great joye of the cominge of those ix. shippes, and the captaines and souldiers made there-

fore a triumph; now expecting royall payment, whereof before they did despaire.

And for that the newes was come certaine that Sir Fra. Drake was retired home, (whom they imagine worketh by a familiar,) they allso confirme them selves in hope of the safe arivall of all the rest of the Indies fleete, to the K. his settled inrichinge for many yeres to performe his intent with all.

At the cominge awaie of this partie he meett with iiij great shippes putting into Lisborne, which he understoode to be Indies men, whether East or West he knewe not.

XVIII.—[Letter of the Commissioners (for ordering the Contents of the Carrack St. Philip) to the council.]

[Lansd. MS. 115, Art. 93.]

Our dewtyes unto your honors humblie remembred, wee doe in like manner signifie, that on Mondaye laste we began the service for discharge and view of the goods in this carrocke according to your honors' instructions; whereof yet wee ar able to make verye smale certificate, neither wolde wee have byn at this tyme herewith troblesome unto your honors, but that Sir Fraunces Drake, the bringer hereof, hath acquaynted us with some occations for which hee accoumpteth his presence and speedie repayre unto the courte verye necessarye, havinge lefte with us in his steede Mr. Thomas Fenner, a gentleman knowen to your honors, verye sufficient; as also one other gentleman of his companye, named Mr. Stallenge, whome wee fynd bothe honeste and discreate, who giveth us great helpe to understand the Spanishe. By Sir Francis Drake wee sende unto your honors a booke of the loadinge of the shipp, as also the certificate of such quantitie as in this smale tyme hath byn landed by ourselves or by Sir Frauncis before our comynge: and therewith also wee have sentt a note of suche percells of golde as heitherto wee have founde, which percells of golde hee hath thoughte good nowe to carrye with him to presente unto her Ma^{tie}. The reste of our tyme shalbe imployed with all diligence untill wee have taken a full inventorie of all that is in the bulcke of the shipp, whereof

wee have yet moved or veiwed verie little: and will not buisye our selves miche in breakinge open of chestes untill wee heere agayne from your honors; for wee conceave here wilbe travayle otherwyse to occupie us a longe tyme, and in the ende chieflye for committinge the pepper into caskes and canvas bags, whiche muste be provided; for it seemeth to lye all abroade in the ship. By your honors' nexte advertisementes, which wee humbly desyre with your convenient speede, wee expecte your good directions what strength shalbe appoynted for whaftinge so miche as your pleasures shalbe to have sentt upp by sea: for the transportation whereof wee will provide barckes heere accordinglye. And so referringe the farder satisfyinge of your honors touchinge the state of the shipp and goods unto Sir Francis Drake's owne reporte, wee humblye comende your honors to the preservation of the Almightie. From the carrocke, (yet named S^{t} Philippi,) in the roade neere Salteashe, the xiiijth of July, 1587.

Your honors' to comaunde,

JOHN GILBERTE. THOMAS GEORGES. FRA. GODOLPHIN.
EDWA. CARYE. JOHN HAWKYNS. HENRY BILLINGSLEY.

(In dorso,)

14 July, 1587.

Commissioners for the orderinge of the goods within the prize at Plimmouthe to the Lords of the Counsell.

XIX.—[THE GOODS OF THE SAN PHILLIPPE.]

[Lansd. MS. 115, No. 89.]

An Estimate of the Valewe of the Goodes taken in the shippe named the S^{t} Phillip, taken by S^{r} Fraunces Drake, Knight, and unladen at Saltashe in Julye and Auguste, 1587.

	£	s.	d.
Firste, the pepper, by the bills of ladinge, dothe apeare to be 4,073 cwt., whereof muche is decayed, and may be esteemed at	40,000	0	0
There is discharged neere 440 balles of annelle of 1 cwt. the peece, valewed at x^{s} the lb. w^{t} . .	22,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
There are neere 115 packes of course callico and pintadoes esteemed at 50li the packe . . .	5,750	0	0
There are about 400 fardelles of synamon, wch may waye 80lb the peece, at vs per lb. wt . . .	8,000	0	0
There maye be in all 20 pipes of cloves, which may waye 4 cwt. a pipe, at iiijs per lb. wt . . .	1,600	0	0
There is by the invoize a hundreth tonne of Ibonie wood, which may be worthe 10li the tonne, which is .	1,000	0	0
There are about 110 chestes, which have in theim callico, sylke, some spice, and divers other kindes of merchandize, which may be worthe 100li every cheste . . .	11,000	0	0
There is in the shipp and discharged certaine silke vellett, benjamyn, waxe, lacrie, to the vallewe of by estimacion	2,000	0	0
There is loden 15 pipes of salltpeeter, which waye nere 8 cwt. a pype, vallewed at 24li a pipe, which is . .	360	0	0
There was founde in the shippe neere 1,400li in ryalles of plate, a chaine of gold worth 500li, plate of golde and silver, and some jewelles worth by estimacion 2,000li .	3,900	0	0
The shippe with her ordenaunce and furniture maye be worth	2,000	0	0
	£97,610	0	0[a]

[a] This must have been the first rough estimate or valuation of this richly-cargoed prize, for we find among the Domestic Correspondence (S. P. O.), under date of Oct. 8, 1587, another and apparently more comprehensive estimate of "all the merchandise discharged out of the St Phillippe in the Ryver of Saltashe."

Among the articles therein enumerated are starched calico cloth, hroad unstarched calico, calicos in papers, calico-lawnes, coarse calico towels, painted pintados, calico diapers, fine white china silk, stitched calicos called "houltelles," fine calico called "canekens," coloured buckrams, coloured "sipres," quilts, turkey carpets, striped coarse carpets, coloured tinsel taffetas, changeable silks, and cruel boratos, white sarcenets, hales of indigo hlue, tons of dry and wet pepper, kintals of cinnamon and cloves, mace and benjamin, china packed in harrels, lacquerie, saltpetre, heeswax, nutmegs, ebony, &c.

The grand total, as given therein, is valued at £108,049 13 11, a prodigiously large amount as compared with our present rate of currency.

XX.—Contents of a Casket found in the San Phillippe.]

[S. P. O. Domestic Corresp.]

A Note or Inventorye of a smale Casket with divers Jewells, veiwed by us in the Towne of Saltashe, the xj^th^ of Julye, 1587, *contayening as followeth:—*

Sixe forcks of golde.

Twelve haftes of golde for knyves, to saye, sixe of one sorte and sixe of another.

One chayne of golde with longe lincks and hookes.

One chayne of golde, with a tablet, havinge a picture of Christe in golde.

One chayne, with a tablet of cristall, and a crosse of golde.

One chayne of golde of esses, with fower diamondes and fower rubyes, sett in a tablet.

One chayne of smale beadestones of golde.

One smale chayne of golde, with roughe lincks, and a tablet hanging unto it, with the picture of Christe and our Ladye.

Two pendens of golde for the eares.

Three braceletts of golde, eiche with a crosse of sondrye fashion.

A girdle of christall garnished with golde.

A payer of beades of benjamyn garnished with golde.

Three ringes of golde with stones.

One rounde hoope of golde inameled with blacke.

One smale ringe of golde with a pearell.

Three heads and three rings of golde for walkinge staves.

One boole of golde and sixe spones of golde.

Two pomaunders, the one with a smale chayne of golde and garnished with golde.

One pomaunder garnished with golde and a pearell hanging to the same.

One smale box with some muskte in it.

A certayne quantitye in peeces of amber greece.

One hundred eightye and nyne smale stones, which wee esteeme to be garnetts.

Thirtye-nyne aggetts, smale and greate.

Eleaven other stones of a greene cullor, with spotts of read.

One blood stone.

One white clothe, in the which there goeth diverse smale stones, thougth to be of smale valew.

The saide caskett, garnished with golde, with two keyes and a smale chayne of golde to the same.

The which caskett and jewells before rehearsed Sir Frauncis Drake hath taken charge to delyver unto her Ma^tie with his owne handes at this presente.

JOHN GILBERTE. THOMAS GORGES. FRA. GODOLPHIN.
EDWA. CARYE. JOHN HAWKINS. HENRY BILLINGSLEY.

XXI.—[THE PARTITION OF THE SPOIL.]

[S. P. O. Domestic Corresp.]

Right honourable, my dutye considered, &c.

According to the valewacion of the goodes of the carricke, the tonnedge and account, with a note of LXXX^li for tenne enseignes, signified unto your L., yt may be understood (under your honors' correccion) as followeth,—

The tonnedge of her Ma^tes shippes and the rest .	4,975 tonnes	7,623 partes.
The men for the service	2,648 men	
Her Ma^tes shipping, 2,100 tonns, and 1,020 men, ys		3,120
The L. Admyrall, 175 tonns, and 115 men, ys		290
Sir Francis Drake, 600 tonns, and 619 men, ys		1,219
The Marchauntes, 2,100 tonns, and 894 men, ys		2,994

	£	s.	d.
The goodes, as by the valewacion therof, amounteth to the some of	108,049	13	11
Wherof, according to the said proporcion, ther ys dewe unto her Ma^tie	44,223	8	2
The charges in the said account mencionede, after the rate	1,524	4	11
Resteth, the same being disductede, as appereth .	42,699	3	3
And abatinge from the rest of the shippes over and above her Ma^ties, 400 tonns, which ys supposede they may be over ratede, ther maye remayne, shippinge and men . . 7,223 partes.			
Whereof by the said proporcion her Ma^tie ys to have .	46,672	8	10
The charges therof, after the rate . . .	1,608	13	1
Resteth dewe, by this accompte as appereth .	45,063	15	9
So that the differens yeldeth unto her Ma^tie . .	2,364	12	6

(In dorso,) 24 Oct. 1587.

Stallenges* paper of the Phillip, with a note of the porcion dew to her Ma^ty, being set thereon.

* The Mr. Stallenge mentioned at p. 49.

INQUIRY

INTO THE

GENUINENESS OF A LETTER

DATED FEBRUARY 3RD, 1613,

AND

SIGNED "MARY MAGDALINE DAVERS."

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY
M.DCCC.LXIV.

INQUIRY INTO THE GENUINENESS OF A LETTER.

It is thought that the publication of the following narrative may put literary and historical inquirers on their guard against possible deceptions, and encourage a spirit of investigation with respect to papers submitted for publication. It will also preserve some historical facts which have been brought to light in the course of this inquiry.

In the course of the year 1863 certain original papers were sent to the Council of the Camden Society for publication, together with a supposed modern transcript of a letter purporting to bear date at "London, Feb. 3d, 1613," which, by the most exact mode of dating, would be 1613-14, or, as it is frequently stated, according to modern usage in reference to the commencement of the year, 1614. These papers came out of the most unexceptionable custody. Those of them which were original were all perfectly unimpeachable documents, and they, and also the supposed copy, had been for many years in the possession of the head of the family, by whose present representative they were offered to the Camden Society. Every ordinary avenue to suspicion was therefore closed.

The supposed transcript was written upon paper which bore the date of 1795 in the watermark, and the handwriting agreed with about that date. It was remarked as somewhat unusual that the date was found written at the top of the transcript, but it was conjectured that the transcriber might have thought himself justified in

making the letter accord with modern usage, by transferring the date from the end to the beginning.

The interest of the presumed copy was found to consist principally in its comments upon the gaieties which enlivened the English Court during the Christmas of 1613-14.

At Whitehall, during the reign of King James, that festive season was ordinarily distinguished by the performance of masques, by tilting matches, balls, and pageants, and by costly suppers—the invitations for which last were issued for about six o'clock. (Finetti Philoxenes, p. 19.) On these sportive occasions court stateliness allowed itself to unbend. The Lord of Misrule was the sovereign of the hour, and the revelry often tested the modesty, as well as the good taste, of the beholders.

The Christmas to which this letter referred was distinguished by circumstances which added greatly to the customary gossip and excitement. The divorce of the Countess of Essex—that great scandal of the Court and reign—had run the first stage of its offensive course. A nullity had been decreed, and on Sunday the 26th December, 1613, the anniversary of the beautiful Countess's former wedding in that same place eight years before, she was again married, by the resumed name of Lady Frances Howard, to the King's favourite, created Earl of Somerset that his bride might not lose rank by her second nuptials. On the evening of the day of the marriage the Court was entertained by a masque written by Campion, (see it printed in Nichols's Progresses of James I. ii. 707,) and on the following evening by the first part of Ben Jonson's Challenge at Tilt; the remainder, which concluded with a tilting-match, being reserved for the evening of New Year's day. In the mean time Jonson's Irish Masque had been played on the 29th December, and was to be repeated on the 10th January, 1613-14.

The rejoicings on this magnificent occasion were not confined within the circle of the Court. The citizens, urged by the King to do honour to his favourite, received the newly-married couple at a grand entertainment in Merchant-Taylors' Hall, whilst Sir Francis

Bacon, the Attorney-general, presented the newly-married pair with a fanciful Masque of Flowers, performed on Twelfth Night in Gray's Inn. Bacon's *fête* was attended by the King and Queen and the whole Court, and is said to have cost him somewhere about 2,000*l.* Other persons, no less anxious than Bacon to stand well in the estimation of the sovereign, rivalled one another in the costly character of their marriage offerings, and from Christmas to Twelfth Night, the wedding, the accompanying pageants, and the splendid gifts, were as much the town-talk as the lady's divorce had been the general subject of discussion during the preceding summer.

Such were the gaieties which occurred at Court during the Christmas to which the transcript alluded to related, and it was much desired that the writer had commented upon them at greater length! She spoke only of one masque. Judging from her brief description, it was thought to be probably the one written by Campion, which was performed on the evening of the wedding day. In a few succeeding sentences she made known that even the enjoyment of these brilliant festivities was alloyed by jealousies which made themselves felt even through all the bridal finery.

The first question that was investigated related to the writer—who and what was "Mary Magdalen Davers?" The letter helped us but a little way towards an answer. That she was a person of station intimately acquainted with the feelings of the Queen and Court; that she was a mother; that she had a son, from whom she had not heard for four months; that there was also a person whose Christian name was "George," who had a pecuniary dependence upon her, and whose expenditure was influenced by an anticipated visit of the King to Newmarket—these were indications of the position and connections of the writer which were gleaned from the letter itself.

As answering to these requirements, it seemed that the writer was Lady Davers or Danvers—names used as if they were avowedly the same, and the use of both which probably arose from members of the family of Danvers or D'Anvers having been accustomed to write the

name "Dāvers," which was misread for "Davers" by persons ignorant of the power and meaning of the mark of contraction over the letter "a." Sir John Danvers, younger brother of Henry Danvers, the founder of the Oxford physic garden, and created Earl of Danby for his services in Ireland, was a conspicuous person in his generation, a member of the Long Parliament, and one of those who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. The writer of the present letter, who was conjectured to have been his wife, was a person scarcely less remarkable.

Lady Danvers was the youngest of the four daughters of Sir Richard Newport of Eaton, and afterwards of High Ercall, in the county of Salop, and of Margaret the only daughter and heir of Lord Chief Justice Bromley. This marriage brought into the family of the Newports the great wealth of the Lord Chief Justice, and conjoined with conspicuous loyalty to Charles I., led to the ennoblement of Lady Danvers's nephew as Lord Newport, and afterwards of his son as Earl of Bradford. Some portion of the family wealth was carried by the future Lady Danvers into the family of the Herberts, on her first marriage with Richard Herbert of Montgomery Castle, a descendant from the same stock as the Herberts the Earls of Pembroke. By this marriage Mrs. Herbert became the mother of seven sons and three daughters, "which she would often say was Job's number and Job's distribution," a conceit which suited the taste of the age, and found its way into the pulpit and into biography. We who look back on the family from the distance of two centuries can perceive that they had better claims to remembrance, and that, simply as their mother, Mrs. Herbert is entitled to our respect and gratitude. Her eldest son was Edward, who became Lord Herbert of Cherbury, equally distinguished as a diplomatist and as an author; the second and third, Richard and William, found employment in the gallant band which England sent forth for the defence of the United Provinces against Spain; both these met death in that honourable service; Charles, the fourth son, was a scholar and a Fellow of New College, Oxford; the fifth son was

Isaac Walton's "Mr. George Herbert," the pious and amiable man whose quaint writings have taken their station amongst English classics; the sixth son was Sir Henry, who held the post of Master of the Revels for fifty years, and under two sovereigns; Thomas, the seventh of this noble band of brothers, was a Captain in the Navy, and did good service even under the reign of our *Rex pacificus*. Of the ladies of this distinguished family Isaac Walton remarks, with somewhat of the story-book generality, "they were all married to persons of worth and plentiful fortunes, and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations." The heralds, with more useful precision, inform us, in accordance with the autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, that Elizabeth was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albemarles, Margaret to John Vaughan of Leydaith, esquire, and Frances to Sir John Browne of Kirby in the county of Lincoln.[a]

The number of Mrs. Herbert's children had scarcely been completed when she became a widow, her son George being at the death of his father only about four years of age, and there being at least two younger children.[b] In the performance of the new duties which thus fell upon her Mrs. Herbert was most exemplary. Devoting herself to the education of her children, and with a view to the exercise of maternal care over her eldest son, she removed to Oxford with her younger children, and remained there until the future historian of Henry VIII., who was a gentleman commoner of Queen's College, had taken his bachelor's degree. In the society of Oxford Mrs. Herbert acquired a reputation for great and harmless wit, combined with what Isaac Walton calls a cheerful gravity, qualities which gained her many friends, and among them the poet Donne.

[a] These and other particulars which have been peculiarly valuable on the present occasion were kindly furnished by Thomas William King, esq., York Herald, from the record known by the name of "Benefactors," preserved in the College of Arms.

[b] Edward the eldest son was of the age of 14 years 7 months and 11 days at the death of his father, which took place on 15th October, 1596. (Inq. p. m. 39 Eliz. part i. No. 62.) Mr. Hopper communicated a reference to this Inquisition.

The amity, as it is termed by Walton, which existed between this worthy pair is a romantic incident in the lives of both of them. It was exhibited on her side in a continual shower of generous gifts: on his, by the dedication to her of several of his choicest poems. Walton has printed several of Donne's letters to her, and has alluded to others, of which we have not been able to find any trace.

Her platonic regard for Donne was followed by a real affection for Sir John Danvers. After twelve years of widowhood her heart was captivated anew by the singular beauty of a smooth-faced young spendthrift, who, in point of years, might have been her son. Donne in her funeral sermon fancifully endeavours to smooth over the disparity of their years: "As the well-tuning of an instrument makes higher and lower strings of one sound, so the inequality of their years was thus reduced to an evenness, that she had a cheerfulness agreeable to his youth, and he had a sober steadiness conformable to her more advanced years. So that I would not consider her at so much more than forty, nor him at so much less than thirty at that time; but, as their persons were made one, and their fortunes made one, by marriage, so I would put their years into one number, and, finding a sixty between them, think them thirty apiece." (Works, vi. 272.) Whether they lived together after the customary fashion of May and December, or in such manner as to give encouragement to others to form similar alliances, does not clearly appear. Neither the wit nor the wealth which may have attracted Sir John survived the marriage for many years. In the latter part of her life Lady Danvers, lost even her cheerfulness. The transcript which occasioned this inquiry mentions sleepless nights, the result of some affection of her head. Nine years afterwards we find her son George writing to her in her sickness, and intreating her with many pious arguments still to maintain her cheerfulness in spite of the troubles of life, the misdoings of her children, the loss of wealth and health. (Walton's Lives, p. 298, ed. 1825.) Again in 1627, in her funeral sermon, allusion is made to "an overflowing of melancholy" in "the declination of her years"—a diseased melancholy which cast

" a cloud upon her natural cheerfulness and sociableness," and sometimes " induced dark and sad apprehensions." Of course it would not be right to attribute this visitation to her ill-assorted marriage. It may have arisen from causes purely physical and arising entirely within herself. To the last, if we are to put any faith in the exalted eulogy of her admirer Donne, she lived a most exemplary life, full of charity and good works. Her residence at Chelsea, built upon the site of the house occupied by Sir Thomas More,[a] and incorporating some portions of it, was a refuge for all who were in distress, especially during the visitation of the plague in 1625, at which time Donne partook of its shelter. On the 8th of June, 1627 (Faulkner's Chelsea, ii. 140), Lady Danvers found a resting-place in the ancient church of the parish of Chelsea, and on the 1st of July following Donne preached in the same church the funeral sermon to which we have before referred. (Works, vi. 244.)

We have given this brief outline of the life of George Herbert's mother, principally with a view to the solution of the question:— " Was she the writer of the transcribed letter?" A doubt still existed in consequence of the name appended to it " Mary Magdaline Davers." Lady Davers's, or rather Lady Danvers's, name was Magdalen only. We could not find trace of any other letter written by her, but she was universally termed by her contemporaries Magdalen only. She was so designated in the return or office found upon the inquisition *post mortem* of her husband Herbert;

[a] Sir John Danvers was skilled in architecture, and in the art of laying out a garden. His house at Chelsea was not a favourable evidence of the purity of his taste in building, but his garden there is said to have been approved and enjoyed by one who in trim gardens took an unaffected delight—Lord Bacon. On one of his visits to Sir John Danvers's " curious garden " at Chelsea we catch a glimpse of Lady Danvers. After walking for some time, overcome by fatigue or indisposition, Bacon fainted. " My Lady Danvers rubbed his face, temples, &c., and gave him cordial water. As soon as he came to himself said he, ' Madam, I am no good *footman*.' (Aubrey's Lives, ii. 226.) We were reminded of this and many other allusions to Sir John Danvers by the Rev. Edward Wilton of West Lavington, whose acquaintance with everything relating to the Danvers family is as great as his kindness in communicating his information to others.

so also in the administration taken out to his effects; so also in the life of George Herbert by Walton; so also in the autobiography of her son Edward; so also in the register of her burial at Chelsea; and, not to run through a great many other examples, all to the same effect, the question, so far as respects her own usage, and the belief as to what her name was among her friends, seemed determined in some lines addressed to her by Donne, and entitled "Of St. Mary Magdalen." After remarking that some of the Fathers doubted whether the facts attributed to the Mary Magdalen of holy writ and tradition were applicable to one person, or to two, or even to three, the poet thus proceeds:—

> Increase their number, lady, and their fame;
> To their devotion add your innocence;
> Take so much of th'example as of the name—
> The latter half."

Magdalen only—"the latter half," not Mary Magdalen—we may therefore conclude was Lady Danvers's name; but, on the other hand, how exactly did the statements in this transcript agree with the condition of George Herbert, then in his twentieth year, and resident at Cambridge, but wholly dependent on his mother. Whenever King James repaired to Newmarket or to Royston, we learn from Walton that he was invited to Cambridge, where the royal visit was an occasion of expense to every one in the University. An angel (ten shillings) extra on such an occasion was an expenditure commensurate with the moderation and frugality of George Herbert.

That Lady Danvers was ever actually in attendance upon the Queen we failed to discover; but we found her, with other distinguished ladies performing, about 1607, in a masque-like entertainment written by Marston, and presented at the reception of the celebrated Alice Countess of Derby by her son and daughter the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon at Castle Ashby. She was then termed "Mrs. Davers," her husband not being knighted until the 3rd March, 1608-9. (Nichols's Prog. James I. vol. ii. p. 152.)

The "Mary Magdalen" excited some little suspicion; but, on the

whole, not dreaming of any intended mystification, and thinking it possible that there might be some understanding between Lady Danvers and the aunt whom she was addressing, which might have given rise to the signature of Mary Magdalen, we were inclined to think that the transcript was a copy of a real letter, and that the writer was Magdalen, the wife of Sir John Danvers.

The following is a copy of the letter in question:—

London, Feb. 3d, 1613.

DEAR AUNTE,

Instead of carrolls, we may sing joy that Xtmass is gon; you for long meals, I for long nights. My poor head as usual still keeps tormenting me from getting much sleep. But this is no news to you, therefore must find you some other.

Their hath been at Court a mask; when it is printed I shall send it you. It was indeed very rich & splendid. Their was presant all our nobility; the Embassadors of Spain and France, Count d' Gondomar & le Baron d' Tour. Their was Sir Noel Caron from the States. At first their became great bickerings on him, whome they woud not allow any place at all. The Spaniard did spake hard words, & loud indeed, saying, in great wrath, the Hollanders were no other than a company of merchants, and their seemd so much bustle, that the Lord Dunbar prayd the Lord Chamberlain to go to the King and humbly request of his Majesty's interference. So that, through the Kings goodness, the affraiy was all smotherd & settled before the mask began.

My Lady of Somerset was there, walked in attended by too ladies with long cushions, & placed her self in much state. She had with her the child my Lord of Walden[a] had by Mrs. Clare, of whom the family seemeth mighty fond. It is a fine child, & calls "Lord Grandfather," and "Lady Grandmother." Her Ladyship's dress was only tammel,[b] but she was extreamly rich in jewells. My Lady Hunsdon[c] (whome

[a] Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, brother of the Countess of Somerset.

[b] "Stammell" was a coarse kind of red cloth ordinarily used for petticoats.

[c] Elizabeth Lady Hunsdon was a sister of Alice Countess of Derby, and both of them daughters of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe.

you know hateth her) told me one jewell on her head cost too thousand powndes. It seemeth the Queen was much displeasd at her sitting in such state, of wich we were shure she was informd of, for the next night she was full too pegs lower.

On Saturday the King goeth to Newmarket, of which I am sensible, for it hath cost me an angel exterordnary to George on the ochasion.

To my neviews and nieeces I send my kind love as theier places deserve and differ. This is all at present

from, deare aunt, your loving and affectionet niece,

MARY MAGDALINE DAVERS.

Postscript.—Sir Thos Rowe took shipping yesterday for Persia: for thees fore months I have not heard from my son.

Your letters are sent towards Venice.

Having pretty well settled, as we supposed, the question of authorship, we now proceeded to consider the facts stated in the letter, not in a spirit of doubt, but rather with a view to annotation. As we read the letter through again, some particular words and phrases grated upon ears somewhat familiar with the language of the assumed period,[a] but we know how difficult it is to draw conclusions from peculiarities of style and expression, so we kept down our feelings upon these points, and proceeded to consider what we may term the historical points of the letter—its assertions respecting public events and prominent persons. Of these there are at any event six.

I. There had been a masque at Court.

II. A dispute had been raised by the ambassadors of France and Spain respecting the admission to Court of the ambassador from Holland.

III. The conduct of the Countess of Somerset at the masque had displeased the Queen.

IV. A child which Lord Walden had had by Mrs. Clare was brought to the masque by the Countess.

[a] For example, "their became great bickerings on him;" "there seemed so much bustle;" "I send my kind love;" "this is all at present." Some of the orthography too was deemed very startling, but that was attributed to the copyist.

V. The King intended to remove to Newmarket on the following Saturday.

VI. Sir Thomas Roe had departed on his Eastern mission the day before.

In considering these facts, we did not take them in the order abovementioned, which is that in which they stand in the letter, but rather in the desultory manner in which the means for investigating them happened to present themselves to our notice.

The first point we had already touched upon. At the Christmas of 1613-14, there had been not merely one masque at Court, but several. The discrepancy seemed odd, but Lady Davers might not have seen more than one, or she might not have deemed Ben Jonson's compositions to be masques in the ordinary sense of the word.

We passed on to the interference of Lord Dunbar in the quarrel of the ambassadors. Referring to the customary authorities, we found it asserted that Sir George Hume, one of King James's Scottish favourites, "a man of few words but of deep wit," as he is described by Spottiswood, was created Lord Hume of Berwick in 1604, and Earl of Dunbar in 1605, and that he died on the 29th January, 1610-11; that his barony thereupon became extinct, and that his earldom was not claimed for many years afterwards (Douglas's Peerage, edit. 1768, p. 202; ed. Wood, i. 454). We found also that Sir Henry Constable was not created Viscount Dunbar until the 14th November, 1620 (ibid. p. 204 and p. 457). Between 1611 and 1620 there was therefore no Lord Dunbar. The question immediately occurred, how could the writer of this letter have fallen into such a mistake? We were told of the uncertainty of all dates, of the possibility of some one having claimed the title, or having passed as Lord Dunbar in general society or even at court, although the fact had not been commemorated in peerages; and, finally, that Nisbet in his Heraldry, i. 279, had asserted that George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, died, not in 1610-11, but in 1618. This drove us further afield. Mrs. Green's Calendar of the Domestic Papers of James I. makes mention of many papers relating to this subject, and turning

to the originals we found that 1611, and not 1618, nor any other year, was beyond all question the date of the Earl's death.[a] Mr. King, the York Herald, also sent us an extract from a copy of the inscription on what Nisbet calls the magnificent tomb erected to the Earl's memory in the church of Dunbar, in which it was dis-

[a] The papers which prove the death of the Earl are contained in vol. lxi. of the State Papers of James I., and are numbered 41, 49, 55, 57, 58, 60, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 80, 84, and 107. Among them No. 60 is a letter from John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who succeeded the Earl of Dunbar as Treasurer of Scotland, to Robert Cecil the Earl of Salishury, dated from Edinhurgh the 7th Fehruary, 1611. He writes thus:—"As the pen was in my hand to write unto you, at the very instant, I received your letter full of bad news, hut it is true, as in your letter you did suspect, that some two days before I had heard of the death of our good friend my Lord of Dunhar. My Lord, what can I say, but I fear it shall he your misfortune and mine, to live and see all our old and best friends die before us. Dunbar and Kinloss are gone, and I dare affirm, the like are not hehind of their nation." No. 70 is from Alexander Seaton, Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, also to the Earl of Salishury, and dated from Edinburgh the 8th Fehruary, 1611. "Before the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 1st February I was advertised, hoth to my great grief and astonishment, of our most worthy and noble friend, the Earl of Dunhar, his unexpected decease. For we had not so much as heard hefore any signification of his sickness." No. 74 is from Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, also to the Earl of Salisbury, dated from Londesborough the 9th of Fehruary, 1610, *i.e.* 1610-11. "I have lately rceeived a letter from your Lordship and other of my honourahle Lords of the Council, wherehy I understand of the decease of that worthy Lord the Earl of Dunhar, for which I am more sorry than I can now cxpress, having found him always an upright careful justicer, a most painful and faithful servant to his sacred Majesty, and my most constant and dear friend; who, when last I parted with him, gave me much assurance of his unfeigned love, and that in regard of my travels and charges, whereof he was an eye-witness, in that service, without allowance, he would do me a good turn to his Majesty. The passionate sorrow of my heart makes me thus to speak my mind of him, and almost to forget myself on that which I intended to write of." Finally, (No. 107). Sec. Sir Thomas Lake, writing to the Earl of Salisbury on the 25th February, 1610 [-11] (according to the indorsement), informs him that the King had determined upon the Bishop of London (Ahbot) as successor to Archhishop Bancroft, and that his Majesty would have Salishury and some other lords to call Bishop Ahhot before them and let him understand "of this his Grace's choice, and that hesides that his Majesty had a good opinion of him for his own part, he had in so dear remembrance the service of my Lord of Dunhar, who did first recommend him to his Majesty, as that though he were not now living, that the world might say he guided his Majesty, yet, for the affection he bare to him living, he would perform his request, that the world might see that such as he did find good servants he did love them dead as well as living."

tinctly stated that he "departed this life xxix. day of January, 1611." This was derived from "The Theater of Mortality," a book published at Edinburgh in 1704, and the 1611 was not 1611-12 but really 1611, according to the Scottish reckoning, which agreed at that time, in the commencement of the year, with the mode now in use among ourselves.

Through this little chink there entered a flood of light. Surprised at the seeming discrepancy, we considered whether the transcriber might not have written Dunbar in mistake for Danby or for Denbigh; but, coming to no satisfactory conclusion, we determined to test some other passages in the letter, and, having at hand Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar of Colonial Papers, we turned to its pages to see when Sir Thomas Roe "took shipping for Persia," it being suggested that, in an age in which a secretary of state did not know whether Iceland were an island or not (Domestic, Charles I. vol. ccxxix. art. 82), a lady writer might be excused for substituting "Persia" for the dominions of the Great Mogul. The actual day when Roe took shipping was somewhat difficult to be discovered.

The first suggestion of his mission was made by the Governor of the East India Company to the Board on the 7th September, 1614 (Sainsbury's Calendar, p. 318).[a] His instructions were dated the 29th December, 1614 (ibid. p. 361). On the 17th January, 1614-15, the ships being at Gravesend, and, the weather growing sharp, "whereby there are expected some easterly winds very shortly," a committee was appointed to go aboard the ships and expedite their despatch into the Downs (ibid. p. 371, and the Original Minute Book, vol. iii. p. 341). On the 26th January, 1614-15, the committee reported the result of their labours at Gravesend. It would seem that Sir Thomas Roe was then aboard. He applied to the committee to consent, upon the request of Lady Garrett, his aunt, that Henry Garrett, their kinsman, might be allowed to accompany

[a] The calendar, though very full and accurate, has been compared with the originals, from which some of our statements have been derived.

Sir Thomas. After two hours' discussion the committee yielded to his importunity, but stipulated for a list of all his men, which he immediately gave them, and agreed to "put off one of them" in order to make room for Henry Garrett. On the 31st January, 1614-15, the ship being still at Gravesend, a farewell letter from Sir Thomas Roe full of expressions of kindness and zeal for their service was read at the Board. After this the ship moved on to the Downs, but on what precise day does not appear; certainly she was there on the 9th February. On the 11th of February we have trace of the last letter of the Company to Sir Thomas Roe upon an unexpected incident which had occurred during his detention on shipboard (Sainsbury, p. 379). In the Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus. there is a copy of a letter of Sir Thomas Roe dated the 20th February, 1614-15. He writes still from the Downs, and complains of his long and unexpected detention. It was not until the 6th March, 1614-15, that the ship lost sight of England (Sainsbury, p. 412). Whether these facts are sufficient or not to show that Sir Thomas took shipping before the 2nd February may be the subject of a little doubt; certainly they must be conclusive that his "taking shipping" could not have been mentioned as a recent event in a letter written on the 3rd February, 1613-14.

This conclusion gave instant rise to the theory that the transcriber had mistaken the date of the original letter, which it was said must have been 1615 instead of 1613. The answer was that, if the transcript were to be thus made to fit with the departure of Sir Thomas Roe, the change must be, not from 1613 (which was 1613-14), to 1615 (which would be 1615-16), but to 1614, which would would be 1614-15, a mistake—being that of inserting in a transcript a 4 for a 3—far less likely to be made than that of misreading a 3 for a 5.

The next subject of inquiry turned out in a way which gave some little support to the supposed transcript—it was the discovery of a Mrs. Clare, and that under circumstances which seemed to give a colour of probability to the position in which she was found in the

supposed letter. A statement of the circumstances will disclose facts of interest in connection with the Countess of Essex, afterwards Countess of Somerset, which have never been printed; it is therefore hoped that it may not be unacceptable.

In 1612 Mary Woods of Norwich, a person who professed skill in palmistry and other similar sciences, came to London in the way of her vocation, and lodged at the house of one Crispe, a barber in Clerkenwell. Having obtained such a valuable inmate, the barber soon afterwards removed with "cunning Mary" and her husband to the more fashionable neighbourhood of the Strand, and there the barber became a willing agent in procuring subjects or patients for his female lodger. One branch of her business consisted in furnishing ladies who desired to become mothers with charms and medicines which would assist them in attaining their end. In the next house to Somerset House dwelt a Mrs. Isabel Peel, wife of a tradesman named William Peel. Mrs. Peel, to her great grief, was childless. The barber, at his lodger's suggestion, whispered in her ear that the very skilful person who was an inmate in his house could provide her with means to help forward her desires. An interview was arranged, and by "fair speech and cosening skill," Mary Woods persuaded Mrs. Peel of her power, but demanded no less a sum than twenty-four pounds for its exercise. In cash the amount was beyond the patient's means, but she delivered to her adviser "two lawn and other wrotte [wrought] wares," and received in return a small portion of an infallible powder which the cunning woman sewed in a little piece of taffeta, and bade the aspirant after maternity wear it round her neck.[a]

The news that a woman of such marvellous skill had come to lodge in Westminster soon spread around. Anxious ladies in many of the neighbouring mansions sent for her, and she especially got a footing in Salisbury House. Mrs. Jane Sacheverell, who attended

[a] After the bubble burst, and cunning Mary absconded with her plunder, Mrs. Peel says that she "ripped the taffeta to see what powder it was, and found it but a little dust swept out of the flower [floor ?]" S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxxii. No. 133.

on Lady Cranborne, was one of her victims. The Countess of Essex also had several interviews with her in the same friendly mansion, and gave her a diamond ring worth fifty or sixty pounds, sent her by her husband the Earl out of France, with directions to pawn it in order to procure a portion of the infallible powder, "which was very costly." The Countess also bestowed upon Mrs. Woods "certain pieces of gold worth between thirty and forty pounds." When the affair was called in question, Mrs. Woods asserted that the Countess gave her these things to procure "a kind of poison that would lie in a man's body three or four days without swelling," and that this poison was to be given to the Earl of Essex. But Mrs. Woods was an infamous person, whose uncorroborated assertion was worth nothing, and she had previously mentioned to Mrs. Peel that her employment by the Countess had relation merely to the child-giving powder.

Mrs. Woods possessed other faculties besides those with reference to which she was consulted by Mrs. Peel and Mrs. Sacheverell. She could "help" ladies to husbands, and "cause and procure whom they desired to have, to love them." On this branch of her business she was consulted by Mrs. Cooke, Lady Walden's gentlewoman, who gave her twenty pounds and more, in twenty-shilling pieces of gold, and, finally also, by Mrs. Clare, who is described as lying in the Court at Whitehall on the south side there, and as being a waiting gentlewoman in attendance upon the young Lady Windsor. Mrs. Clare, like several others of the ladies named, had no ready money, but the fees paid by her were very handsome. They comprised a standing cup and cover of silver gilt worth fourteen pounds, a petticoat of velvet layed with three silver laces, that cost forty pounds, and two diamond rings, the one worth twenty pounds, and the other worth five pounds.[a]

The incident respecting Mrs. Clare had such a general resemblance to the fact mentioned in the letter, that it was easy to believe

[a] See S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxxii. Nos. 49-55, and 133.

that they were recorded of the same person. She who had, perhaps some four or five years before, given birth to the child which in 1614 ran about appealing to Lord Grandfather and Lady Grandmother, might well give her cup and cover, and even her velvet petticoat adorned with silver lace, as the price of a love-powder which might procure her a husband.

But, in spite of this partial confirmation, the genuineness of the supposed transcript had been so much shaken by the strangeness of the results in the instances of Lord Dunbar and Sir Thomas Roe, that we felt bound to pursue our investigations farther. The next point which came under notice was that one relating to the conduct of the Countess of Somerset at the masque. In this respect the information in the letter was altogether new, but it appeared at once that the facts stated could only have occurred at one of two Christmasses. The Countess was married to the Earl of Somerset, as already mentioned, on the 26th December, 1613. The facts stated might have occurred in the course of that Christmas-time, that is at the end of 1613 or the beginning of 1614, or at the next Christmas-time, in 1614 or 1615, but they could not have occurred either earlier or later.

In September 1615 Sir Thomas Overbury was murdered; in the October and November of that year several of the Countess of Somerset's fellow-culprits were executed; and, before Christmas 1615, she and her husband were sent to the Tower. Her trial took place in the May following, and she never afterwards made her appearance at Court.

The possible date of the letter being thus limited to one of two months of February, we further considered how either of them would agree with the several points before mentioned. As to the first point, we have already shown that at the Christmas of 1613-14 there were several masques acted. At the same period in 1614-15 there was but one, Ben Jonson's "Mercury vindicated from the Alchemists." So far as this point goes the evidence is decidedly in favour of the latter date.

But what about the fifth point, that of the King's intended departure to Newmarket on the following Saturday? If the letter were written on 3rd February, 1614-15, that day occurred on a Friday, so that the words in the letter "On Saturday the King goeth to Newmarket" would be equivalent to "to-morrow the King goeth," &c. Now, in that year the King was in London as usual at Christmas time, and as usual left town shortly afterwards. Chamberlain, writing to Carleton on the 12th January, 1614-15, says: "the King removes this day towards Royston and Newmarket, where he means to tarry till Shrovetide [the 21st February], and not to come again at Candlemas, as he was wont to do." On the 19th of January the King was at Newmarket, and there knighted Sir Dudley Norton. (S. P. Domestic, James I. vol. lxxx. art. 10.) On the 30th January Sir John Savage was knighted, apparently at the same place. On the 1st February Secretary Winwood "went toward the King to Newmarket." (Ibid. No. 17.) On the 3rd February Sir Robert Anstruther was knighted, still at the same place. (Moseley's Catalogue of Knights, p. 54.) On the 9th Chamberlain writes: "Mr. Secretary came home yesternight from Newmarket in a day, which was a sore journey as the ways are, being at least 54 miles; but he had coaches laid for him in three places." (Dom. James I. vol. lxxx. No. 26) On the same day De Quester, the foreign postmaster, wrote to Sir Isaac Wake: "The King's Majesty came to Royston [*i.e.* from Newmarket] . . . . yesterday night; and, on Saturday next, being the 11th present, his Highness intendeth to be at Theobald's, and on Thursday the 16th February here at Whitehall." (Ibid. No. 25.) And so it very nearly turned out, for, on the 15th February the King knighted Sir Robert Dillon at Theobald's, and on the 17th De Quester wrote again to Wake: "His Majesty arrived here on Wednesday last [the 15th] at night from Theobald's, and remaineth yet at Whitehall to keep there his Shrovetide." (Ibid. No. 32.) Chamberlain confirms all this. Writing on the 23rd of February, he says: "The King came to town the 15th of this present, and goes away again this day or to-morrow towards Royston." (Dom. James I. vol. lxxx. No. 38.)

The King, therefore, was already absent at the time when the presumed original of this transcript, if it had been dated in February 1614-15, would have represented him as being about to leave London. Here, then, the date, given by a consideration of the first point, was contradicted by the fifth point.

We then tried the date 3rd February, 1613-14, by the same test of the King's intended movements, and it seemed in all probability to be about accurate. In that year the 3rd of February fell on a Thursday, and the Saturday following was the 5th. The King was at Royston from the 12th January to the end of the month. On the 1st of February he was at Whitehall, on the 2nd at Hampton Court, from the 3rd to the 5th at Somerset House and Whitehall. On the 6th he may be traced at Whitehall, and on the 7th in the morning he left town for Royston. There is no contradiction between an intention to leave town on the 5th and an actual leaving on the 7th. Therefore, if tried by the tests of the allusions to the Countess of Somerset and the King's movements, it might fairly be concluded that 1613-14 was the true date of the letter.

With feelings something akin to bewilderment, we now turned to the still further test presented in the second passage of Lady Davers's letter—that relating to the quarrel of the ambassadors respecting Sir Noel Caron. We opened at the same time Sir John Finet's volume of Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors. Nothing can be of higher authority than this little work in such a question as the one now before us. At the time of this dispute Finet was Deputy and principal acting Master of the Ceremonies at the Court of James I,; for the most part he delivered personally the invitations to ambassadors who were desired to attend the court ceremonials; in their disputes about place and precedency he was the person primarily consulted by them, the bearer of their messages, complaints, and claims. He gives an account of this very dispute. As a writer he is one of the prosiest imaginable. We would print his account of the matter, but it would fill several

pages, and is written in such a style that nobody would read it; but it may be found in the book of Observations to which we have alluded, printed in 1656 under the editorship of James Howell, page 19 to page 24.

It will be remembered that it appears from Lady Davers's letter, that there were present on the occasion in question, Count Gondomar as the ambassador of Spain, and the Baron de la Tour, the representative of France ; that the objection taken against the admission of Caron was, that the Hollanders were no other than a company of merchants; that by the King's interference the affray was all smothered and settled before the masque began; and that this took place on some day before the 3rd February 1613-14.

It appears on the contrary, from the statement of Sir John Finet, that the affair took place on the 5th January, not in 1613-14, but in 1614-15; that the King did not settle the dispute, but was unable to do so; and that after a multitude of diplomatic messages and suggestions on both sides, the Spanish ambassador "having merrily requested the Lords before, that since his servants were not ambassadors, and would not strive for places, they might be allowed room to see the mask, he with one gentleman, his secretary, and a footman, I attending him to his coach, departed," whereupon the King took order that Sir Noel Caron "should likewise depart, to avoid all further [future?] question about either of their pretences." Again, it appears that the objection taken had no connexion with Dutch trade, but was that Sir Noel Caron was "the representant of his master's [the King of Spain's] vassals and rebels (so he called them);" and again that the ambassadors present on the occasion were not those of Spain and France, but of Spain and Venice, and that the great objector was the ambassador of Spain, his brother ambassador of Venice assisting with allegations which were "held to proceed," as Finet assures us, "rather from a spirit of disturbance (forward as he naturally was to make ill business,) than that what he said was simply truth." Finet's account of the matter is further confirmed as to its date, the nature of the dispute, the prominency

of the Spanish ambassador, and the result, in a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton. It is dated the 12th January 1614-15, not 1613-14, and after speaking of the mask on Twelfth-Night and its success, which was so great that the King had it represented again on the Sunday night after, the writer proceeds thus:—

"There fell out an accident before it [the masque] began, that had almost marred the play, for the Spanish ambassador being invited, when he understood that Sir Noel Caron was likewise to be there, he protested against it, saying he was not to be present where a servant of his master's vassals should be covered, or appear in quality of an ambassador. Against which exceptions there was much dispute twixt him and the lords then present, and many messages passed to and fro between them and the King, but in conclusion he would by no arguments nor precedents be persuaded, but said it was contrary to his instructions, and so retiring himself went back the same way he came, whereupon Sir Noel Caron was wished to retire likewise and absent himself." (Domestic, James I. vol. lxxx. No. 4, State Papers, Pub. Record Office.)

There remained one other test to be applied to Lady Davers's account of this ambassadorial dispute. She tells us who were the ambassadors of France and Spain at that time in England: so does Sir John Finet. We will deal first with the representative of France. Lady Davers states that he was the Baron de la Tour. Sir John Finet informs us, at p. 12, that on 23rd December 1613, the French ambassador was Mons. de Buisseaux, and again at p. 16, that the same gentleman continued in his office on the 1st February 1613-14. During the remainder of 1614, and in Jan. 1614-15, there are many evidences in the State Papers in the Public Record Office that de Buisseaux still remained resident French ambassador in London. He arrived at Paris on his recal about the 30th January 1614-15, (Letter of Sir Thomas Edmondes, French Corresp. State Papers, 30 Jan. 1614-15,) and no one else appears, either as ordinary or extraordinary ambassador from France until the appointment of Mons. Desmaretz, whose credentials are among the State Papers, dated at Paris $\frac{26\text{th June,}}{6\text{th July,}}$ 1615. He arrived in England very shortly

afterwards, and had his first audience at Theobald's on 2nd July 1615 according to the English style. (Finet, p. 26.) Mons. de Buisseaux, and not any one of the name of De la Tour, was therefore the French ambassador at the time of the squabble respecting Sir Noel Caron, although not present at the time. Indeed in those days the rivalry between the ambassadors of France and Spain was so great and so troublesome, that they were never invited to Court together, and a great deal of Finet's book is taken up with a minute narrative of the arrangements by which he set off the great potentates one against the other, and stiffled the jealousy which afflicted the mind of one of them if he heard that his brother ambassador had been placed in a position esteemed in the slightest degree superior to that which had been accorded to himself.

So much for the actual French ambassador; but what about the ambassador De la Tour? How came he to be named? Could there be any confusion connected with him which might account for a mistake? Two gentlemen of the name of De la Tour came to England as ambassadors from France within a few years of the time of the dispute respecting Sir Noel Caron. One of them was Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, one of the most illustrious Frenchmen of his day. He was never in England as resident ambassador, but visited this country on extraordinary missions in 1591, 1596, and 1612, on which last occasion he arrived in April and returned in May. There are many evidences in the State Papers of the friendly interest which he subsequently continued to take in England and English affairs,[a] but in the latter part of his life he was too busily occupied in the French civil troubles to visit England. The course of his life may be seen in the memoir of him in the Biographie Universelle. Under any conceivable date of this letter the Duke de Bouillon could not be the person alluded to.

The other De la Tour to whom we have referred as having been

[a] Many letters from him occur in the French Correspondence, one of which, dated from Paris on the $\frac{14}{24}$ January 1613-4, is addressed to the Earl of Somerset, by way of congratulation on his elevation to that title and his subsequent marriage.

in this country on an embassy from France at about this time is equally out of the question. He came on a special embassy in the year 1617. True this De la Tour was a Baron, and was therefore probably the person who was in the mind of the actual writer of this letter, but the date of his mission stultifies the attribution of any share in this incident to him. He landed at Deal on the 24th January 1616-17, after two days' exposure to a very tempestuous sea in crossing from Dieppe. (Dom. James I. vol xc. No. 39.) He returned home in the last week of the succeeding month of February. At that time the Countess of Somerset was still in the Tower, convicted of murder on her own confession. No supposition of mistake can make this letter consistent with a date which would suit with the visit of the second De la Tour.

Pass we now to the Spanish ambassador. The letter-writer says he was the Count de Gondomar. The letter-writer is right, and yet in being so is fatally wrong. Sir John Finet, in his account of "passages at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset," mentions this same ambassador as having then newly come into this kingdom;[a] and in the margin of his book, at p. 12, he gives his name "Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna," and he mentions him again by the same name "Don Diego Sarmiento" at p. 25, under the date of the 23rd April, 1615; and again at p. 35, under the date of about the middle of the year 1616. Now there is no doubt that this was the same person who afterwards became Count de Gondomar, but the letter-writer's misfortune is this that Sarmiento was not created Count de Gondomar until the year 1617. Cottington, then English ambassador in Spain, who had previously been in the habit of mentioning the Spanish ambassador in London as Don Diego or Don Diego Sarmiento, wrote to Secretary Sir Thomas Lake, on the 26th April 1617, old style, from Madrid, as follows, "Before this can come to your hand I presume you will hear that Don Diego Sarmiento is now Conde de Gondomar, an honour which the King

[a] Camden notices his arrival under "1614, Oct. Didacus de Sarmento legatus pro Hispano." Annals, Jac. I. p. 11.

hath done him, and with much applause of all men here." The news reached London, as Cottington expected, before his letter, for on the 1st May 1617, Sir John Digby (the subsequent Earl of Bristol) writing to Buckingham, then an Earl, from London, says, "The Spanish ambassador is ill again, but I hope in little danger. The King of Spain hath been pleased to honour him with the title of an Earl, and he is now called Conde de Gondomar." (Spanish Correspondence, under the dates of 26th April and 1st May, 1617.)

All contemporary writers who mention the Spanish ambassador by name, speak of him in the same manner as Finet, by his title of Sarmiento, but it has been usual for more recent historians to refer to him, even from his first arrival in England, by the title which was afterwards conferred upon him.[a]

Summing up, then, the results which had been obtained, it seemed that by the first and second points—the masque at Court and the ambassadors' dispute—the date of the letter was shown to be February 1614-15, but that the fifth point, the King's intended departure, carried it back to 1613-14, whilst the allusion to Sir Thomas Roe in the sixth point again placed it in 1614-15; the mention of Lord Dunbar was inconsistent with any date subsequent to 1610-11, the notice of Gondomar could not have been written before 1617-18, and that of De la Tour, although no doubt prompted by a knowledge of his visit to England in 1616-17, was not applicable to any period whatever, inasmuch as he was never in England on any 5th January.

Such may be termed the results of the positive evidence brought forward in our inquiry. The negative evidence—or rather the arguments deducible from extraordinary omissions—whether the letter was dated in 1614 or 1615, is equally conclusive. Thus, for

[a] We ought to except Mr. Gardiner, who in his admirable History of England from 1603 to 1616, accurately describes the ambassador as "Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, better known to us by his later title of the Count of Gondomar." (vol. ii. 87.) Mr. Gardiner's complete acquaintance with the State Papers enabled him at once to give us a reference to the letter of Cottington, above quoted from the Spanish Correspondence.

example, it is allowed that the evidence as to the King's intended departure from London is in favour of the date prefixed to the letter, "Feb. 3rd, 1613-[14]." But if we consider what really took place during the months of January and February in that year, we shall see how imperfect, or rather how false, a representation of the actual facts is contained in Lady Davers's letter.

We have shewn that the King was in town at Christmas 1613 at Somerset's wedding, and also during the festivities, both at Court and in the city, which followed it. As soon as these were over, he was glad to escape to his horses and his dogs. On the 12th January he was at Royston, whence he visited Audley End (Dom. James I. vol. lxxvi. No. 6.), and continued away from London during the whole remainder of the month. In the meantime the Queen was at Somerset House, busy in preparation for a marriage, by which she evidently intended to eclipse that of the Countess of Somerset, which her Majesty, much to her credit, had only with great difficulty been prevailed upon to countenance with her presence. The bride on this occasion was Mistress Jane Drummond, a daughter of Patrick third Lord Drummond, and one of the ladies of the Queen's household. The bridegroom was Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, lately created Lord Roxburgh. A special invitation was sent to the King to be present on this occasion. He accordingly came to town on the 1st February. The Queen and the Lords went out to meet him, as was the custom, in their gayest carriages, almost to Theobald's. On the 3rd February, the marriage took place. Daniel's "Hymen's Triumph, a pastoral Tragi-comedy," was produced for the first time, and, there not being a room in the Queen's residence large enough to hold the expected gathering, it was played in a square paved inclosure, covered over, and otherwise prepared for the reception of an audience which comprised all that was noble and beautiful in the English Court. On the day following the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were invited by her Majesty, "and had rich gloves. They went thither in pomp and were graciously used, and, besides their great cheer and many healths, had a play. They pre-

sented the bride with a fair cup and two hundred Jacobus pieces or double sovereigns in it." The King stayed through these festivities up to the Monday after the marriage, which was the 7th February. The Queen had yet to give a grand entertainment to all who had made presents to the bride, which she did in a most sumptuous and royal manner (Dom. James I. vol. lxxvi. No. 33). But nothing could detain the King. "He went away," says Chamberlain, "on Monday morning, and thought long till he was gone, for he went thorough that night to Royston, and so to Newmarket." (Dom. James I. vol. lxxvi. No. 20). Is it conceivable,—is it in the nature of womanhood—that Lady Davers, a person apparently acquainted with the Queen's feelings and doings, should have written a newsletter to a female relation on the very day of the marriage of Miss Drummond, and yet have not alluded to any of the gay doings by which it was distinguished? Nay more, in spite of the King's movements which have been detailed, that she should have written her letter in such way as distinctly to lead to the conclusion that the King had been in London all through the Christmas celebrations, which lasted from Christmas until Candlemas Day, the 2nd of February, and was preparing to escape as if for the first time on the Saturday following?

Another example of silence which is perfectly incredible would be furnished by this letter if it could be supposed to have been written on the 3rd February, 1614-15, which would make it coincide with the one masque at Court, the ambassadors' dispute, and the departure of Sir Thomas Roe. The January and February of 1614-15, was a remarkable period. It was the year of the Great Snow; the "frigus intensum et nix copiosissima," as it is termed by Camden. The following are two descriptions of what happened. Chamberlain wrote thus on the 16th February, 1614-15: "Yesterday I received your letter of the 29th of January. It is no marvel if the posts keep not their ordinary days and times, for we have had such weather that I think they had much ado to come at all. Ever since Sunday was three weeks [the 22nd of January] we have had

continual frost and snow, whereof we have had such plenty as I never knew the like. For there hath not past one day since that time but it hath snowed more or less, and on Sunday last it began at seven o'clock in the morning, and never ceased till Monday after nine at night, so that it lay very deep, and we fear we shall hear of much harm; but the greatest part of it went away on Tuesday and yesterday with a kindly thaw, but this night it is frozen again, and grown very cold." (Dom. James I. vol. lxxx. No. 30.) De Quester, who has a more precise recollection of weather than Chamberlain, describes these "great snows" as "more than had been since the great snow which was thirty-six years past." (Ibid. No. 32.) Others make mention of the disastrous floods and high tides which ensued, and Howes, the continuator of Stowe, sums up the whole matter thus: "The 17. of January, 1614, began a great frost with extreme snow, which lasted until the 14. of February; and, albeit the violence of the frost and snow some days abated, yet it continued freezing and snowing much or little until the 7. of March, whereby much cattle perished, as well old as young; and in some places divers devised snow-ploughs to clear the ground, and to fodder cattle. This snow was very dangerous to all travailers." (Stowe's Chronicle, ed. Howes, p. 1023.)

Of course Lady Davers, if she were the letter-writer, could at the date of her letter have had an acquaintance with merely the comparative commencement of this heavy winter. On the 3rd February they were only in the third week of the frost, and had only had ten days of snow. But surely that would have been enough to excite some little observation on the difficulty of travelling with reference to the King's intended journey. On the 1st of February Chamberlain writes: "Mr. Secretary went on Monday toward the King to Newmarket in as hard and cold weather as came this year; for it hath been very sharp these ten days with much frost and snow, which continues still, and so is like to do for ought I see. The Thames hath not been passable; but in a manner closed up, almost this sennight. The floods I wrote to you of the last week did a

great deal more harm than I could then tell you, for we have certaintie of more than twenty drowned that Saturday within forty miles compass of this town." (Dom. James I. vol. lxxx. No. 17.)

Can it be supposed that weather so extraordinarily severe would not have occasioned even a passing allusion in such a letter as that of Lady Davers?

To pursue the subject further seemed needless. The letter was too much damaged by the results of our inquiry to be published by the Camden Society. By whom written, or for what purpose, is a mystery, and will probably remain so. It was evidently put together by some one who had a knowledge of many things connected with the period in question, but whose knowledge was not deep enough or precise enough to enable him to concoct an antiquarian *jeu d'esprit* which should baffle investigation.

J. B.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

ELECTED 2nd MAY, 1863.

The Council of the Camden Society, elected on the 2nd May, 1863, feel assured that the Members will receive with satisfaction the Report of the Auditors, which shows that the financial condition of the Society continues to be satisfactory.

The Council regret to announce that since the last General Meeting the Society has lost by death the following Members:—

Rev. James Adcock, M.A.
The Lord Bagot.
William Bird, Esq.
Beriah Botfield, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Humphrey Brandreth, Esq.
George Richard Corner, Esq. F.S.A.
James William Farrer, Esq.
James Robert Gowen, Esq.
The Lord Lyndhurst, LL.D., F.R.S.
John Bowyer Nichols, Esq. F.S.A.
Arthur Paget, Esq.
Joseph Parkes, Esq.
William Salt, Esq. F.S.A.
Newman Smith, Esq.
William Tooke, Esq. Pres.S.Arts, F.R.S. and F.S.A.
Rev. Godfrey Wright.

Several of these gentlemen rendered excellent service to this Society. Mr. Beriah Botfield served on the Council. Mr. Corner acted as an Auditor and was elected on the Council. Mr. Salt, to whose liberality many literary societies have been indebted for valuable assistance, was on several occasions on the Council, and yet more frequently served as Auditor; his sudden removal, whilst carrying on many labours for the benefit of historical literature, is a subject of very deep regret—a man more generous, or personally more estimable, can scarcely be conceived. Of

Mr. J. Bowyer Nichols it is only necessary to remind the Members that he was one of the Founders of this Society, that in conjunction with his Sons he has been the printer of all our publications, and that he has granted us the use of his rooms in Parliament Street as a place of meeting for the Council, and (for some years past) for our General Meetings.

Since the last Anniversary the following publications have been delivered to the Members—

Wills from Doctors' Commons. Edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A. and John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.

Trevelyan Papers, Part II. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A.

These two books belong to the preceding year. The Council trust they have justified the notice given of them in the last Report.

The publications of the year 1863-4 have been—

I. The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York. From the Original MS. in the possession of Robert Cooke, Esq. Edited by Robert Davies, Esq. F.S.A.

a volume replete with interesting pictures of the state of society in Rawdon's period, and edited with great care and judgment by Mr. Davies. This book has been universally acknowledged by reviewers to be one of the most interesting and best edited of our publications.

This was followed by

II. Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou, Bishop Beckington, and others, temp. Henry VI. Edited by Cecil Monro, Esq.

a work of much importance in reference to a period of our history which is peculiarly obscure. The Society is under great obligation to Mr. Monro for calling attention to these letters, and for the care with which he has edited them. The manuscripts from which this and the preceding volume have been derived are in private hands, and but for the existence of this Society would probably never have been given to the press.

As another book for this year's subscription the Members will receive a Fifth Volume of The Camden Miscellany, containing :—

Five Letters of King Charles II., communicated by the Marquis of Bristol, President of the Camden Society.

Letter of the Council to Sir Thomas Lake, relating to the proceedings of Sir Edward Coke at Oatlands; and, Documents relating to Sir Walter Raleigh's last Voyage. Communicated by S. R. Gardiner, Esq.

A Catalogue of Early English Miscellanies formerly in the Harleian Library. Edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, Esq.

Letters selected from the Collection of Autographs in the possession of WILLIAM TITE, Esq. M.P., V.P.S A.

Sir Francis Drake's Memorable Service done against the Spaniards in 1587. Written by ROBERT LENG, Gentleman, one of his co-adventurers and fellow-soldiers. Edited by CLARENCE HOPPER, Esq.

Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter dated February 3rd, 1613, and signed "Mary Magdaline Davers."

Our volumes of Miscellanies have always been welcomed by the Members, and the Council feel that the varied and interesting character of the present Collection, which owes much of its value to the liberality of the President in placing the curious Letters of Charles the Second at the disposal of the Council, and of Mr. Tite, who, in like manner, has contributed a characteristic Series of Letters, will be as acceptable as any of its predecessors.

The following Work has been recently added to the List of suggested Publications:—

List of Persons who compounded for not taking up Knighthood at the Coronation of Charles the First.

Since the last General Meeting a suggestion has been made to the Council, that the Camden Society would be doing good service to the cause of historical literature, by applying to the Judge of the Court of Probate for an extension of the privilege now enjoyed by literary inquirers at Doctors' Commons to all local registries and to all other courts in which Wills have at any time been proved.

The Council readily entertained the suggestion; and with a view to giving greater weight to the application requested the co-operation of the Society of Antiquaries. This was very cordially agreed to; and a Joint Committee of the two Societies was appointed to carry out this object. The Joint Committee thereupon drew up the following Memorial, which, having been signed by the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries, and by the President and Council of the Camden Society, has been forwarded to Sir James Wilde.

The Society of Antiquaries,
Somerset House.

MY LORD,

ON the 18th February, 1859, many of the undersigned, conjointly with other persons interested in literary research, addressed a letter to the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell, in which his attention was directed to the manner in which the labours of persons engaged in literature were affected by the regulations of the Record Office

for Wills. After stating the facts upon which their application was grounded, the writers concluded with the expression of a hope that the time had arrived when the practice of the Record Office for Wills might be assimilated in the case of literary inquirers to that of the Public Record Office, in which almost unlimited freedom of inspection, with the power of making transcripts, is given to such inquirers.

After a correspondence between Sir Cresswell Cresswell and the applicants, for which we beg to refer to the inclosed printed paper, Sir Cresswell opened at the Principal Registry a department for Literary Inquirers, under certain printed Regulations which are dated the 11th March, 1862.

The sixth clause in these Regulations specifies the nature of the documents to which access was intended to be given. This Clause is in the following terms: "The Visitor will be allowed without fee to search the Calendars, to read the registered copies of Wills proved before the year 1700, the Probate and Administration Act Books to the same date, and to make extracts from such Wills and Books."

In putting these Regulations into practice, a question has arisen, whether the privilege thereby afforded shall be treated as limited to the copies of Wills and books belonging to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which alone at the time of the original application were deposited in the Principal Registry, or whether the same liberty shall be extended to other testamentary documents, which since the year 1859 (but not entirely since the date of the Regulations issued in March 1862) have been transferred to the same depository.

The undersigned beg to submit that the more liberal interpretation of Sir Cresswell Cresswell's Order best accords both with the letter and with the spirit of his concession. And they are not aware of any reason for excluding from literary research the documents which have been brought in from the other London and provincial registries, and which contain historical materials of a similar character to those found in the books and papers to which the Regulations admittedly apply.

The undersigned very respectfully suggest to your Lordship that if you would be pleased to declare your view of the proper construction of the Order in question, the expression of your opinion would ensure the harmonious working of the Regulations, would he a guide to the applications of literary inquirers, and a rule to the Officers as to what they are to grant and what to refuse.

If it should happen that your Lordship thought it right to issue any new paper of Regulations, the undersigned would venture to request that it might be considered whether something might not be done towards rendering accessible that extremely valuable collection of materials for the history of the domestic condition of our ancestors, the INVENTORIES which used to be brought into the Office on proving a will. Such an Inventory was adduced on the proof of the will of Shakspeare. It probably contained a minute account and valuation of his personal estate. It may still exist at the Record Office for Wills, but the undersigned are informed that the Inventories are not in a condition in which they can be produced to inquirers.

The undersigned further suggest that in the case supposed, it might be considered whether the limit of the year 1700, which is every year thrown further back, might not be altered into a period (say) of 150 years, which would be a limitation always equi-distant from the current time.

The points which have been enumerated affect only those who can apply personally at the Principal Registry, but the undersigned, as, in a certain sense, representatives

of a great body of historical and literary inquirers, have been urged from many quarters to point out to your Lordship that in all parts of England, as well as in London, there reside investigators of our topographical and genealogical history, not numerous in any one place, but some of them peculiarly distinguished—authors of books of tbe highest value, books which constitute a peculiar and most important feature in our national literature. To such persons access to the registered copies of Wills preserved in the district registries would be little less valuable than the same privilege has been found in London.

At present they are not (as literary men were in London before Sir Cresswell Cresswell's Regulations of 1862) totally excluded. The kindness of some registrars, and the payment of fees (irregular and uncertain) at other offices, enable some of them to procure access; but no really important work can thus be carried on. On their behalf we appeal to your Lordship, in the hope that by some arrangement emanating from your autbority they may be made partakers of a privilege wbich has made literary men deeply grateful to Sir Cresswell Cresswell, and will in due time lead to great improvements in all literary works which are based upon historical truth.

Sufficient time has not elapsed to admit of our receiving an answer to this application. But the Council feel sure that the application will meet with the approval of the Members. If Sir James Wilde be pleased to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, he has it in his power to make arrangements which will associate his name with those great benefactors to historical students, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir John Romilly, and Sir Cresswell Cresswell.

By order of the Council,

JOHN BRUCE, Director.
WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.

20*th April*, 1864.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure from the 15th of April, 1863, to the 15th of April, 1864, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the period we have mentioned.

Receipts.	£.	s.	d.
By Balance of last year's account..	281	10	11
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at the last Audit.....	59	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on 1st of May last (1863) ..	301	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on 1st of May next	15	0	0
One year's dividend on £1016 3*s.* 1*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, standing in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting Income Tax..	29	12	0
By Sale of the Publications of past years to Members of the Society	20	5	0
	£706	7	11

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Paid for printing No. 83, Wills from Doctors Commons, 600 copies.....	57	11	6
Paid for printing No. 84, Trevelyan Papers, Vol. II. 600 copies	49	1	0
Paid for printing No. 85, Life of Marmaduke Rawdon, 600 copies	72	1	0
Paid for printing No. 86, Letters of Margaret of Anjou, 600 copies	60	16	6
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing	8	15	0
Paid for Paper.....	77	12	0
Paid for Indexes	5	5	0
Paid for delivery and transmission of Books, with paper for wrappers, warehousing expenses, &c.	31	4	7
Paid for Binding	58	10	0
Paid for Woodcuts	1	0	0
Paid for Insurance	1	11	6
Paid for Advertisements	5	0	0
Paid for postage, carriage of parcels, and other petty cash expenses.....	5	7	7
Paid commission on Sundry Remittances.....		1	9
	433	17	5
By Balance.....	272	10	6
	£706	7	11

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, that over and above the present balance of £272 10*s.* 6*d.* there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, and of Members resident at a distance from London, which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

Henry Hill.
William Chappell.

20*th April*, 1864.

WORKS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

For the Subscription of 1838-9.

1. Restoration of King Edward IV.
2. Kyng Johan, by Bishop Bale.
3. Deposition of King Richard II.
4. Plumpton Correspondence.
5. Anecdotes and Traditions.

For 1839-40.

6. Political Songs.
7. Hayward's Annals of Elizabeth.
8. Ecclesiastical Documents.
9. Norden's Description of Essex.
10. Warkworth's Chronicle.
11. Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder.

For 1840-41.

12. The Egerton Papers.
13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda.
14. Irish Narratives, 1641 and 1690.
15. Rishanger's Chronicle.

For 1841-42.

16. Poems of Walter Mapes.
17. Travels of Nicander Nucius.
18. Three Metrical Romances.
19. Diary of Dr. John Dee.

For 1842-43.

20. Apology for the Lollards.
21. Rutland Papers.
22. Diary of Bishop Cartwright.
23. Letters of Eminent Literary Men.
24. Proceedings against Alice Kyteler.

For 1843-44.

25. Promptorium Parvulorum: Tom. I.
26. Suppression of the Monasteries.
27. Leycester Correspondence.

For 1844-45.

28. French Chronicle of London.
29. Polydore Vergil.
30. The Thornton Romances.
31. Verney's Notes of Long Parliament.

For 1845-46.

32. Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston.
33. Correspondence of Duke of Perth.
34. Liber de Antiquis Legibus.
35. The Chronicle of Calais.

For 1846-47.

36. Polydore Vergil's History, Vol. I.
37. Italian Relation of England.
38. Church of Middleham.
39. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. I.

For 1847-48.

40. Life of Lord Grey of Wilton.
41. Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.
42. Diary of Henry Machyn.

For 1848-49.

43. Visitation of Huntingdonshire.
44. Obituary of Richard Smyth.
45. Twysden on Government of England.

For 1849-50.

46. Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.
47. Chronicon Petroburgense.
48. Queen Jane and Queen Mary.

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